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LIFE IN LESU

THE STUDY OF A MELANESIAN SOCIETY IN NEW IRELAND

BY

HORTENSE POWDERMAKER

FOREWORD BY DR. CLARK WISSLER

The American Museum of Natural History

W · W · NORTON & COMPANY · INC
PUBLISHERS · NEW YORK

[title page]

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

000 In doing field work, the anthropologist incurs obligations to so many people that it is difficult to thank them all properly. I owe my training and initial stimulus to Professor B. Malinowski, of the University of London, to whom this study is dedicated. For training in methodology, insight into many problems which face the social anthropologist, and stimulation in my studies, I am deeply indebted to him. To the Australian National Research Council my [122] great thanks are due for financing and thus making the field trip to New Ireland possible. To Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, then the chairman of the anthropological section of that Council, I am indebted for his very helpful assistance and advice to me before I went into the field and while I was there. A fellowship from the National Research Council, and, later, a Grant-in-Aid from the Social Science Research Council, made possible the leisure necessary for the writing up of the field material, and my very sincere thanks are due to both Councils. To Professor Clark Wissler, under whose sponsorship I received the fellowship, I owe much for constant encouragement, criticism, and suggestions while I was writing. The Institute of Human Relations at Yale University provided admirable facilities for continued research and the writing of this book. To Professor Edward Sapir I am very deeply obligated for his most helpful and stimulating criticism of the manuscript of this book. To Miss Bella Weitzner and Dr. Florence Powdermaker I also owe much for their untiring aid and excellent criticism and suggestions.

I take this occasion also to thank Brigadier-General Wisdom, Governor of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, and members of his staff for their interest and co-operation in my study. I am particularly indebted to

000 Mr. W. E. P. Chinnery, Government anthropologist for this territory, who helped me select the place for study and who then gave me great assistance in solving many problems, practical and otherwise. To Mr. Gregory Bateson I am also much indebted for his practical help when I was beginning my field work. Mr. D. Waugh, then District Officer of New Ireland, and Mrs. Waugh gave me sympathetic help, co-operation, and hospitality while I was in New Ireland. From Mr. H. White of Kavieng I also received help in my work. To the New Ireland planters and their wives I am grateful for their hospitality and frequent kindnesses, and most particularly to Mr. and Mrs. W. Grose, Mr. and Mrs. B. Mocatta, and Mr. and Mrs. C. Schultze. To the missionaries with whom I came in contact, I am also much indebted for many kindnesses.

Many other people generously gave me assistance. I can only mention a few of these here. Professor C. G. Seligman, of the University of London, gave me invaluable advice before I went into the field. Dr. I. Hogbin, of the University of Sydney, was particularly helpful in connection with my photographs. Dr. Harold Himwich read and criticized part of the manuscript. Dr. E. D. Merrill, of the Bronx Botanical Gardens, identified the botanical specimens I brought back; and the late Professor Underhill, of the Pharmacology Department of Yale University, also assisted me with these specimens. Part of one summer was spent at "Yaddo," where a portion of the manuscript was written in very delightful surroundings. Lastly, there are the kindly natives of Lesu, without whose friendly co-operation this study could not have been made. To all these people I owe my sincere thanks.

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PREFACE

Lesu[1] is a village on the east coast of New Ireland about |31|
eighty miles from the northern end of the island. New Ireland is part of the Bismarck Archipelago and lies approximately between latitude 2° and 4° S. and longitude 150 and 153 E. It is in that part of the South Seas known ethnologically as Melanesia and is now under the political mandate of Australia. The island is long and narrow, about two hundred miles in length and an average width of twenty miles, except at its widest part in the extreme south, where it is approximately fifty miles across. It is divided into nine linguistic 131
districts, in each one of which a different dialect is spoken. 197
These dialects, while related, are not mutually intelligible. The linguistic unit in which I worked was comprised of five villages, Lesu, Ambwa, Langania, Libba, and Tandis, with a total population of about twelve hundred. It covered approximately twelve miles on the east coast north of the centre of New Ireland. I took up my residence in Lesu, 114
which has a population of 232, and there did most of my [161]
work, although I visited other villages to attend various rites and secure ethnological information. Occasionally I went to a village in another linguistic district for some special ceremony, but such excursions were infrequent. I spent ten and a half months in Lesu, from March 1929 to February 1930.

When I first arrived, I found a partially completed and

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[1] The spelling on Government maps and publications is Lossu. Lesu approximates more closely the phonetic pronunciation of the word by natives. New Ireland was formerly known as Neu Mecklenburg when it belonged to Germany.

114 habitable "house kiop," a house built for the use of any visiting Government official on patrol through the island. I moved into it immediately and it was finished after I was in. The house was comfortable, made of wood, with a thatched roof, and contained two rooms and a large porch. One room served as a storeroom and the other as my sleeping-room. I worked and ate on the porch. Several small outhouses, for cooking, for the sleeping quarters of my servants, etc., completed the establishment. From Rabaul, the capital of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, I had brought with me two native servants, an attractive young couple, whose home was in another linguistic district in New Ireland, and who had been working for an Australian Government official in Rabaul. They were therefore trained for my domestic needs and in addition spoke pidgin English. The boy was cook and "shoot boy," bringing down a bird with my gun whenever I wanted one for a meal. His wife worked about the house, did my laundry, and such personal service as cutting my hair. They were well liked in the village, and it is helpful to the anthropologist to have popular servants.

123 The first few days, while I was getting settled and unpacking equipment, we were almost continuously surrounded by a group of curious and smiling natives. Some of these spoke pidgin English and I was able to converse with them. I explained my purpose in coming to their village, telling them that where I came from (they had never heard of America, and so I drew a map on the sand) "my people" knew nothing about them, and that I had been sent to learn about their customs and mode of life. I showed them anthropological books illustrated with pictures of other

primitive peoples, and further, to impress them, I added 123
that my prestige (a familiar concept to natives) when I
returned home would depend to a great degree on how
much I knew about their customs and how accurate was
my information. This was something they could understand
and was, moreover, essentially the truth. They, in turn,
wanted to know about "my people." So I told them about
my mother, father, sisters, brother, and other relatives.
Kinship here is important, and as I was asking about their
relatives, it was therefore understood that they could ask
about mine, or any other thing in which they were interested.

I was particularly fortunate in that the chief or "luluai" 123
of the village was a very intelligent and fine person. His 609
wife, also intelligent and an attractive personality, announced
that she was my sister, and it followed naturally that her
mother became my mother. Their house was opposite mine,
and from the beginning a warm friendship sprang up. The
chief, his family, and most of the Lesu people developed an
attitude of responsibility for my welfare. They were rather
flattered at my having come to study them instead of a
neighbouring group. Word of my visit spread rapidly
throughout the island, and natives from distant parts came
to see so strange a phenomenon as a white woman living
alone in a native village. After a while I had invitations
from chiefs in other villages to visit their places. Besides
this attitude of responsibility for my welfare, the natives
also took the position of instructors. It was they who were
teaching me the language, the magical spells, the myths
and folk-tales, etc., and they took their job seriously. One 123
day, after several months in Lesu, I made a rather amusing 522
mistake while conversing in the native language. The verbal 554

123 522 554 slip was repeated all around the village as a good joke, and I thought it was funny too. But not so an old man who had been my principal instructor in the language. Much annoyed, he came to see me. He asked if I didn't realize that everyone knew he was my teacher, and that when I made a mistake it reflected on him? I was properly humble and said meekly that I would try and do better next time.

124 126 My field technique consisted of several procedures. I worked with the most intelligent natives, men and women, as informants. We had long sessions at my house, when I secured magic and other ethnological data privately with one or two individuals at a time. Then, too, I attended every ceremony that took place during my stay and had long discussions about the rite after it occurred. I never went uninvited, but I was invited to everything. This was true also for purely masculine occasions such as the men's feasts. To these a couple of the important old men would escort me. I would sit quietly to one side, munching a banana or taro, and taking notes. My notebook and pencil accompanied me everywhere, and the natives took it quite for granted that I should write everything down. I explained that my memory was not good enough to remember everything they told me or that I saw, and so I wrote it down. This they understood, and some of them said that if they had writing, they would remember much better too.

123 Other times I would go to the gardens with the women, sit with them as they prepared the food, or join them as they gossiped and took their ease after a day's work. In the casual everyday life I was much more with the women than with the men. I felt quite free at all times to wander through the village, visiting my friends, and they in turn

would come and see me. At night I often listened to them 123
telling folk-tales. Since most of the life was carried on outdoors I could stand on my doorstep and both see and hear the life of the hamlet about me. Here was a noisy quarrel going on, there some children playing, and in the distance, returning from the bush, some men with a wild pig they had just captured. Information was thus obtained through all these methods: regular work with informants in the privacy of my home, observation of all events in the community life, and participation, to some degree, in the casual everyday life of the natives.

I used stick tobacco as my currency in trading with the 276
natives. Everyone—men, women, and children—smoked. 436
They had their own native-grown tobacco, but they much 437
preferred my Virginia twist. All my economic transactions were carried on according to native custom. I had bought with me gifts—knives, spades, loin-cloths, tinsel trimming, jews' harps, etc.—and I was on terms of gift exchange with many of the natives; the code of reciprocity was followed.

My relationship with the natives was not built up in a 123
day. The first month I worked slowly and carefully, developing friendships and winning their confidence. I tried to be perfectly consistent in my behaviour towards them and always gave a very simple reason for everything I did. In a few months I felt secure in their friendship and liking, and I could then venture to get the more intimate details of their life.

To learn the language, which is a hitherto unrecorded Melanesian dialect with apparently Papuan elements, was the most difficult part of the work for me. I recorded texts and then, with the aid of an interpreter, analysed them. I collected a vocabulary as I went along. I listened to native

124 conversation and gradually began to speak a little myself. I had no interpreter who knew real English. Pidgin English was as far as any of them went. In this area there are always some natives who have worked on coconut plantations or in the white man's capital, and they return with some knowledge of pidgin English. In the very beginning of my stay I worked in pidgin English and through an interpreter. Gradually I learned to speak a little of the native language and understood more, and this knowledge increased with time. I was studying the language to use as a tool rather than for scientific linguistic analysis. In the ten and a half months of my visit I did not learn the language perfectly, or even what I considered nearly perfectly, and so I never trusted absolutely to my knowledge of it. I could participate in native conversations, but for all the important things I did not rely only on myself, but checked up with my best interpreters. For instance, I recorded the speeches at the feasts, but always worked over them afterwards with an interpreter. The natives, however, as is often the case, were under the impression that I knew the language much better than I really did.

114 A certain amount of work had already been done on New Ireland, mainly by the Germans. Peekel and Kramer are the chief ones who have worked there, and Graebner and Parkinson have also touched upon it in their studies. Most of the information is on the southern and central part of the island, and no anthropologist had been in the linguistic district where I worked. My study tried to delve into the
121 intimate and daily life of the people, and was made from a rather different point of view than that of the German writers. I attempted to study the native life as it was

functioning, to show the workings of the society and the various interrelationships of the different aspects of the culture, to understand motivations, to note individual variations in behaviour as well as general patterns. I studied such concrete cases as presented themselves as fully as possible and tried to understand the abstract principles underlying them.

In this part of the world it is difficult to apply an historical point of view, because there is so very little real historical information. For instance, whether there was in the past a sun cult, as some of the German writers believe, is difficult to ascertain. Certain rituals, such as that connected with the *malanggans* (elaborate wooden carvings connected with mortuary rites), seem to have lost much of their original meaning. But without the thesis of a sun cult, gathered from other areas, it does not seem to me that one would, from the present data, connect this ritual with the sun. The connection is decidedly too hypothetical to be termed historical. This is one of the phenomena where an historical approach would be useful in throwing light on the present. But, unfortunately, we haven't the history.

In this study certain aspects of the culture have been treated lightly. Technology is given very little attention and material culture is studied only in the context of economic organization. All the folk-tales collected are not given in the text, but the best have been selected and an attempt made to fit them into the body of the material as they fit into the life of the people. Linguistic notes are not given here and material on vital statistics has been published separately.[1] Although I studied the influence of what white

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[1] Powdermaker, H., "Vital Statistics of New Ireland, as Revealed in Genealogies," *Human Biology*, September 1931.

|2| contact there had been, these data are not given in this book, except as the European influence affected some of the material I gathered. Certain data I regard as more complete than others. On the *malanggans* I exhausted the material in my area, but undoubtedly there is much more to be said about them. A visit to the Tabar group of islands near by, and from which the carvings seem to have come, may reveal more information, and there is always the possibility of eventually getting some historical clue as to their original meaning. Data on black magic and on beliefs in ghosts might also be more complete. Social and economic organization, sexual life, intimacies of daily life, the body of native knowledge, and ritual happenings were studied very fully and as exhaustively as time permitted, and are much more complete than such aspects as technology and material culture.

The personal interests and training of the social anthropologist and conditions in the field naturally act as selective agents in choosing those aspects of the culture on which he does his most intensive work, no matter how objective he tries to be. And the method of field work varies from one field worker to another. Also, in a year's time no one person can study with equal thoroughness every aspect of any culture. Therefore an effort has been made to indicate the method of work and the strength and weakness of this material.

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FOREWORD

DR. HORTENSE POWDERMAKER was the first woman to live alone as an ethnologist among the natives of Melanesia. 000 Most studies of native life on the culture level of the people visited by her have been made by men, presumably upon the assumption that the undertaking was too hazardous for a woman. Yet this volume is not only a demonstration that the assumption is ill-founded but is an exhibit of what a woman may accomplish in this field. So, as the book opens, we find her in far away New Ireland, a resident in a native village which is called Lesu. Here the author lived until she knew these natives well, and as a welcome guest was invited to join in their daily tasks, feasts, amusements, and occasional bereavements. It is from such a background that the author writes, not only giving a well-organized account of the ethnology of the village, a matter of interest to the specialist, but affording the general reader an intimate, dependable view of the daily round of life in a primitive community.

The method of the ethnologist is not only to record what is seen in native life, but by direct inquiry to learn something about what is back of the things natives do, as well as to get such information as may be gathered concerning things not seen. In every society there are limits to publicity. Further, there may be rigid conventions barring free conversations between women and men, thus limiting the information of a male student to the point of view of his own sex. Naturally, one may expect a woman to get the other side of the case, especially to acquire more of the primitive woman's point of view; and so it is that the volume before us presents a wealth of information on childhood, birth, marriage, and other intimate phases of native life.

CLARK WISSLER

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LIFE IN LESU

CHAPTER I

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

131 THREE degrees south of the equator in the Western Pacific is the village of Lesu, on the east coast of New Ireland, part of the Bismarck Archipelago, a group of islands lying north-east of Australia. The New Irelanders are the tall, more
142 or less well-built Melanesian type, with kinky black hair, brown skin, and somewhat negroid features, and are a hospitable, kindly, good-natured people. In the past the
291 men wore no clothing at all and the women only a straw
177 apron. To-day, however, because of white influence, everyone wears a loin-cloth, and the women sometimes wear blouses, but most of the time these are omitted.

133 In size, New Ireland is the second largest island of the Bismarck Archipelago, and is long and narrow in shape. Running through the centre is a low range of mountains, about 3,000 feet at their highest altitude. Along the coast,
491 beginning at the northern end, runs a road for over a hundred miles, one of the few roads in the whole Territory of New Guinea. The road follows the coast in a winding fashion, uphill and downhill, and over it travel the natives, by foot, and occasionally by bicycle, from one village to another. Long stretches of road have on one side the dense bush with its thick undergrowth of tangled vines, its bright-coloured flowers, among them the familiar south-sea hibiscus, the tall coconut palms, the delicate bamboo trees, the nodding areca palms, and many other trees over which fly
33 brightly plumed birds. On the other side lies a sea which is dazzlingly brilliant in the sunshine, its glare broken here

133 and there by little islands in the distance. There is no sign of human habitation. Other parts of the road run through 361 native villages, with the little low, thatch-roofed, bamboo-walled huts nestling under the tall palm trees. In front of a house is a man playing with his infant son. Out on a reef is a group of men standing in circular formation knee-deep in the sea, each with a fishing-net or spear, waiting for the appropriate moment to close in on the fish. Further on sits an old man in front of the men's house, weaving a fishing-net. In the open compound are a group of women sitting on the ground, scraping the taro for their evening meal. From the road the gardens are not visible, for they are several miles distant in the bush.

491 The road leaves the village to run again through an uninhabited part, where the only sound is the roar of the waves against a high precipice. Then it turns in and passes through the evenly planted coconut trees of a white man's plantation, whose orderliness stands out in contrast with the irregular and crowded coconut trees in the villages. So the road continues, linking distant villages in a friendly fashion, whereas before the advent of the white man the relationship between them was merely the hostilities of warfare.[1]

DAILY LIFE

512 In the villages the day begins with the rising sun, which is the timepiece for the natives.[2] From the home emerge, yawning, the husband, wife, female children, and very young

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[1] The road was begun under the German administration and is now kept up by native labour.

[805] [2] The sun rises and sets at approximately six o'clock, with a variation of only about twenty minutes throughout the year. Sunrise, sunset, and night are the main distinctions of time. Other times are indicated by pointing to the place in the sky where the sun would be then. Boys who have worked on the white man's plantation know noon as the time for the midday meal, but it does not figure in native life.

boys. The unmarried men, boys, and married men whose 512
wives are pregnant or nursing infants, as well as a few other [513]
men, have slept in the men's house on the beach. Lovers
will have slept in the bush, or in the woman's house if the
husband is absent.

The men and boys stroll along the beach, where off one 512
end behind a coral formation is the men's latrine, secluded 514
by bushes and trees. The tide washing in makes the latrine
a sanitary one. The men continue their leisurely stroll along
the beach, sometimes stopping to sit down and gaze at the
sea for awhile. The whole day is before them and there is
no need for haste.

In the meantime the women and girls have defaecated 512
in the bush, somewhere back of the house, which they now [514
sweep with a broom made of the dried midribs of coconut 356]
leaves tied together at one end. The wife throws some taro
scrapings and the ends of taro left from the previous day [231]
to the pigs. By the time the man has returned from the
beach the woman has finished tidying the house. Each now [264]
eats a taro baked the day before. This is not a regular
meal, and they frequently eat while standing up or sauntering
about.

After this (it is now about 7.30) the women load baskets 512
on their backs and go to the gardens, which are about an 462
hour's walk through the bush. Here they plant the taro,
pull out weeds, and fill the baskets with taro ready to be
eaten. The men may go to the gardens also, to build a new
fence, or repair an old one, to clear ground for a new
garden, or perhaps to get firewood. Or they may stay at
home to look after the baby. Sometimes they fish, build a
new house, or repair an old one. Men too old to work sit 512
on the beach, or in the compound in front of the house, or 887
occasionally take a short stroll. A feeble old woman stays
in the house. One not so feeble, but too old for active work,
takes care of a grandchild, real or classificatory. The occu- 080

512 857 The occupation of the children varies according to their sex. The girls from about ten on help their mothers in the gardens. The boys wander around the village, playing and taking care of their younger sisters and brothers. If there is any fishing, they stand about on the fringe looking on, as they do also in housebuilding or any other occupation. A slightly older boy assists his father in work connected with the gardens, when his help is needed.

512 The women, and men too, if they have gone to the gardens, return to the village in the early afternoon, usually about two o'clock. This varies, and occasionally they come back at noon, or sometimes late afternoon, about four or five o'clock. They arrive back hot, dusty, and tired, and [515] immediately bathe in the sea, coming out cleansed and refreshed. Both men and women wear their loin-cloths when they go into the sea and put on dry ones when they come out. There are no separate bathing-places for the sexes, but as a matter of practice the two sexes never bathe very near each other at the same time. After bathing they perform the toilet of the day, combing their hair and powdering it with white lime. If they feel so inclined they may add [302] some facial decoration; painting a yellow ring around one eye is a favourite style. Then, if they are hungry, there is a piece of cold baked taro in the house, left over from the day before.

512 462 252 Now come the preparations for the evening meal, mostly the woman's task and usually done communally by the members of one hamlet or two neighbouring ones. Occasionally, if they have returned late from the gardens, the cooking is done individually. The women scrape the taro and the men bring in the firewood and the leaves and make the *liga*, a pile of hot stones, in which the food is baked. If it is an ordinary meal and no fish or animal is to be baked, the men are not very busy and look after the babies, or stroll 512 about chatting with each other. The women work seriously,

but when their preparations are finished, about four o'clock, 512
they take their ease and chat and gossip lightly. Perhaps
they wander over to another hamlet and visit the women
there. At sunset they return home, feed the pigs with the [231]
scrapings from the taro, and, if they have fowls,[1] these are
also fed. The girls and younger children go to the beach
waterholes, in which the sea-water is filtered as it trickles [312]
up through the sand, and they fill the hollow bamboo
stems with drinking-water. The time for this varies with
the tide.

Night comes quickly and by seven it is almost completely
dark. Each family is gathered around its own fire in the
compound in front of the house. Some sit on the ground, [352]
and others may be on a bamboo bench constructed near
the fire. Now they have their evening meal, the inevitable [262]
baked taro, perhaps varied with a bit of fish or a few crabs.
Throughout the village every family is gathered as a unit
around its own fire, and there is an air of peace in the place.

How the rest of the evening is spent will depend upon the 512
moon. On dark nights, unlit by the moon, everyone goes
to bed quite early, an hour or so after they finish the evening 513
meal, but on moonlight nights the scene is different. Even 517
when the moon is only half full the village is illumined by its beams, and when it is completely rounded the place fairly shimmers in its rays. The leaves of the coconut palms shine bright green and the bamboo trees sparkle with fireflies. The beach is like a cold white streak lying between the dark blue waves and the green trees. The tall arica palm nods its head gracefully in the background. The fires gleam throughout the village and aid the moon in throwing tall shadows, which make the houses seem small and insignificant. Now there is gaiety in the night. Children are playing on the beach imitating a ritual dance. Adults are visiting each other in their compounds, or strolling about, and

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[1] Chickens have been introduced through white contact. [177]

512 there is light laughter and gay voices. One group of men
513 is at the men's house. Lovers have gone into the privacy
517 of the deep bush, which even the moon cannot penetrate.
The evening passes happily for everyone and bedtime comes close to midnight.

512 The days are full, but not hurried. In addition to the
461 normal work there are the many feasts to prepare for,
dances to be rehearsed for coming rites, and other preparations for ritual activities, which consume a large amount of time. To-day, also, the native is compelled to keep the
[651 road in good condition, and this work lessens the time for
491] his own labour.[1] The native habit is to take time off when he is very tired or has nothing to do. For instance, after a strenuous three or four-days of mortuary rites he sleeps for a whole day. But I did not see any healthy men or women spend many days in idleness. They were busy, with suitable intervals for leisure, and, on the whole, they lead an active life, but one without hurry or tension. No exact hour or day is set far in advance for an elaborate rite, but when the preparations are finished, the rite will be carried out.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

182 This daily life is set within a social structure which may be likened to an elastic configuration, functioning as the individuals live within it. In this configuration are certain fundamental elements which are chosen for detailed observation and study. These elements are the groupings of people on the basis of kinship, locality, and sex. The place of an individual within the structure and his various relationships with other people are largely determined (in so far as they are socially determined) by blood relationships, place of residence, and sex.

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[1] He is required to give three days a week for this labour.

Locality

New Ireland is divided into nine main linguistic units, which 197
are further subdivided into smaller units based on differences
in dialect. People who live twenty miles distant do not 619
understand each other. There is no tribal, political, or other 186
social relationship between these linguistic units. Even the
villages of one linguistic section do not act as a unit. They
have no common chief, and until recently, when it was
prohibited by the white Government, there was fighting
between the villages of the same linguistic unit. To-day
there is jealousy and absence of any united feeling among
them. It is merely a geographical area, separated from
other areas by its language, but other than that it has no
cohesion and does not even have a name. The village, with 621
its distinct round of life, its chief, its important old men, its
communal rites, its communally owned ground, its gossip
and mass of trivial details which make up life, is the largest
functioning unit based on locality. To-day, inter-village life
within the same linguistic unit is confined mostly to important
ritual occasions, when members of near-by villages congregate.

The village is subdivided into hamlets. Lesu, the village 361
where I lived, has 232 inhabitants, and stretches along the 621
coast for about three miles. It is divided into fifteen hamlets,
separated from one another by fences and sometimes also
by unused land. Each hamlet contains from two to eight
houses. The larger hamlets have their men's house and
cemetery, and every hamlet has its own communal cooking-ground
and sometimes a cookhouse. The only orientation
in the arrangement of houses is that the men's house and
cemetery are near the sea. Each hamlet also has its name
and a community life of its own, apart from its participation
in the village life, and its members are frequently close
relatives, but not always so. The women cook together and 621
the men assist each other in their fishing and house-building.

621 Each member of this small community knows every other member well, his virtues, his faults, his little foibles and idiosyncrasies, and it is within these groups that one finds the choicest bits of gossip. Every native is identified with a certain hamlet as well as village. Thus, he is a man from Penguli, or Ponembatawa, as well as a member of the village of Lesu. His deepest roots are in the hamlet, and when he dies it is to the cemetery of the hamlet in which he was born that he is brought to be buried. As matrilocal [591- residence is the rule, a man is frequently buried in a hamlet 764] other than that in which he was living.[1]

592 The next smallest grouping according to locality is the household, which corresponds, in general, to the individual family, consisting of parents and children. Should a man have two wives, each wife will usually have her own house, although if there is a great difference in their ages, one being very old and decrepit, they frequently occupy the [513] same house. The unmarried men and the boys, after the age of nine or ten, sleep in the men's house. There is no girls' house corresponding to the men's house, and the girls sleep at home until they are married. The usual occupants of each house are thus, the husband and wife, the female unmarried children, and young male children. But even though the older boys may sleep at the men's house, they participate in the life of the household. Just as each hamlet

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103 578 [1] In the past, before white contact, the hamlets of Lesu formed two villages. The present six hamlets at the northern end (Simbelmalum, Ponamsambuat, Ponembwam, Ponembatawa, Ponmeniliasau, and Ponatlege) were known as the village of Tagam, and the remaining nine hamlets (Onel, Panat, Logok, Pantes, Penguli, Tarengam, Pencil, Sapone, Penbumbu) were the Lesu village. Each had their own chief, and there was constant fighting caused by thefts of women and pigs between the two villages. While war has been abolished and the two villages are now united, a certain division is still maintained between [304] them. For instance, the boys of Tagam are still circumcised separately from the boys of Lesu. The members of the two places attend each other's rites, but there is no really close intimacy between them.

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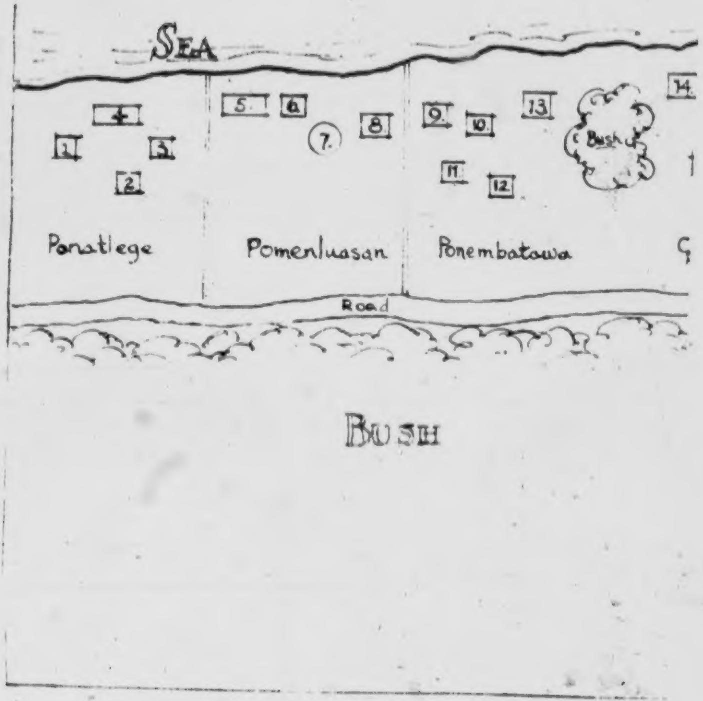

1. Dwelling—man and wife, 3 children (2 males, 1 female).
2. Dwelling—man and wife, 5 children (4 males, 1 female).
3. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
4. Men's house
5. Men's house.
6. Small dwelling unoccupied.
7. Cook-house.
8. Dwelling—old widow, living alone.
9. Dwelling—widower, living alone (house more decorated with carving than any other house in the village).
10. Dwelling—widower, living alone.
11. Dwelling—man and wife, 3 children (2 males, 1 female).
12. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (male).
13. Dwelling—man and wife.
14. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (male).
15. Cook-house.
16. Mission church.
17. Mission house.
18. House where the Catholic missionary stops when he is in the village.
19. Dwelling—man and wife, 3 children (males).
20. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (males).
21. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (1 male, 1 female).

[p. 32 (A)]

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

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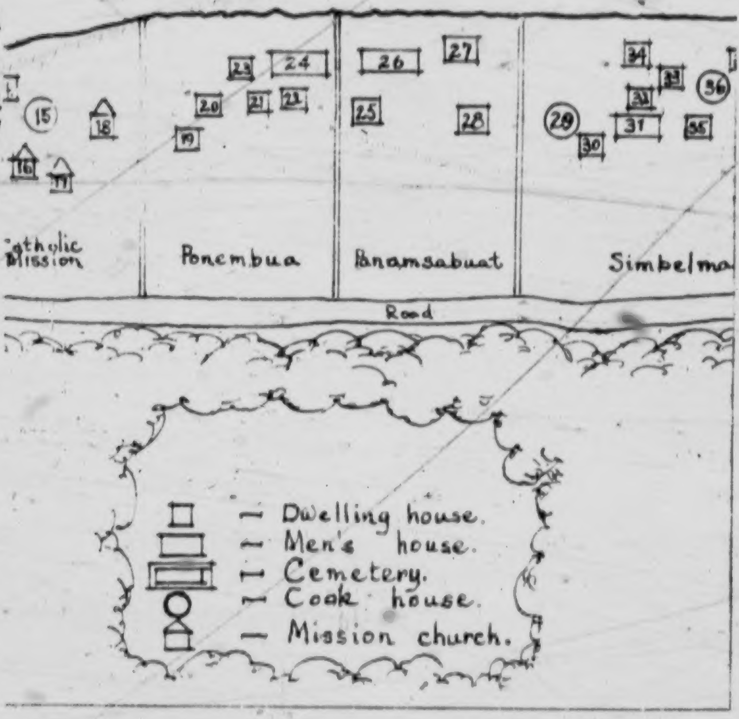
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atholic Mission
Ponembua
Panamsabuat
Simbelma
Road
— Dwelling house.
— Men's house.
— Cemetery.
— Cook house.
— Mission church.

In reality the hamlets are separated from each other by bush, a fence, or

22. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (male).
23. Dwelling—man and wife.
24. Men's house.
25. Empty dwelling.
26. Men's house.
27. Dwelling—widow and 1 child (male).
28. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (female).
29. Cook-house.
30. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
31. Men's house.
32. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (male).
33. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
34. Old deserted dwelling.
35. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (female).
36. Cook-house.
37. Dwelling—man and wife.
38. House, where native boy trained at Government hospital, is supposed to take care of the sick.
39. Dwelling—one man and two wives.
40. Dwelling, widow
41. Cook-house.
42. Dwelling—man and wife

[p.32(B)]

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10

Lesu

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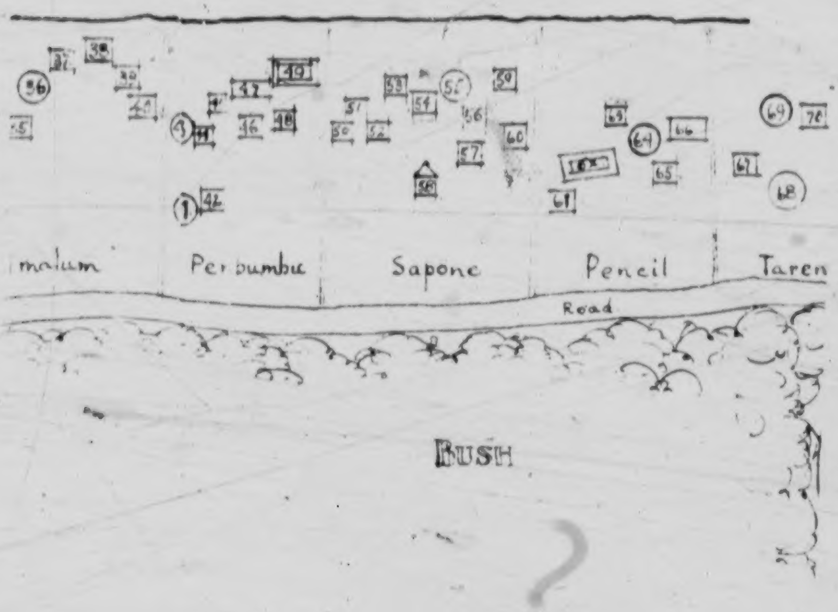
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malum
Perbumbu
Sapone
Pencil
Taren
Road
BUSH

PLAN OF VILLAGE SHOWING DIVISION INTO HAMLETS

re, or sometimes by nothing at all. Everyone knows where one hamlet begins and the

43. Cook-house.
44. Dwelling—widow.
45. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (male).
46. Old deserted dwelling.
47. Men's house.
48. Dwelling—widower.
49. Cemetery.
50. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
51. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (females).
52. Dwelling—man and wife.
53. Dwelling—one man (bachelor, brother to man in dwelling 56).
54. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (1 male, 1 female).
55. Cook-house.
56. Dwelling—man and wife, 4 children (3 males, 1 female, one of them adopted).
57. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (males).
sed to
58. Mission church (Methodist).
59. Dwelling—man and wife, 4 children (2 males, 2 females).
60. Dwelling—man and 2 wives, 1 child (female).
61. Dwelling—man and wife, 3 children (2 males, 1 female).
62. Cemetery.
63. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female, adopted).

[p. 32 (c)]

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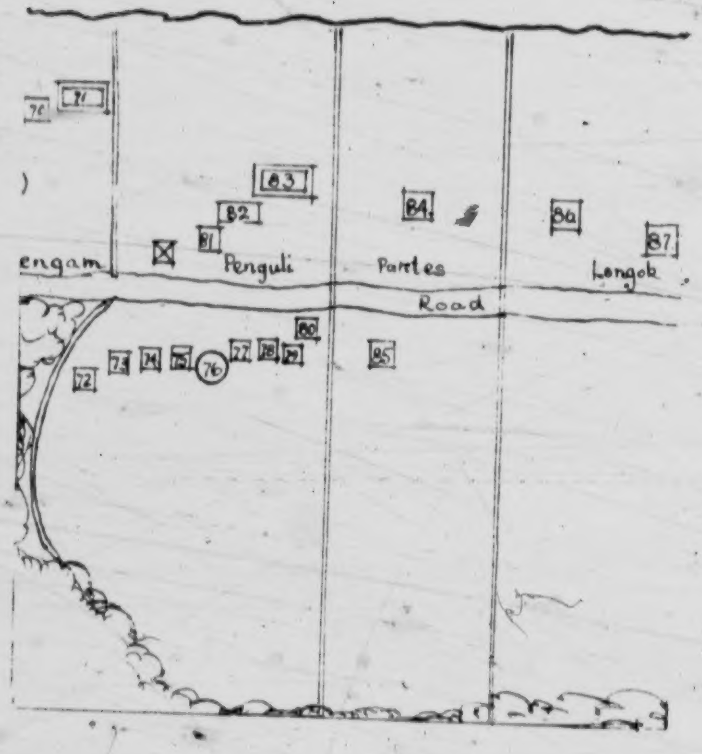

other ends. The corresponding numbers describe the occupants of hu

64. Cook-house.
65. Dwelling—man and wife, 3 children (2 males, 1 female).
66. Men's house.
67. Dwelling—man and wife, 5 children (males).
68. Cook-house.
69. Cook-house.
70. Dwelling—man and wife.
71. Cemetery.
72. Old deserted house.
73. Dwelling—old widower.
74. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
75. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
76. Cook-house.
77. Dwelling—man and wife, 4 children (2 males, 2 females).
78. Dwelling—widower and son.
79. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (1 male, 1 female).
80. Dwelling—man and wife.
81. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
82. Men's house.
83. Cemetery.
84. Old deserted dwelling.
85. Dwelling—man and wife.

[p. 32 (D)]

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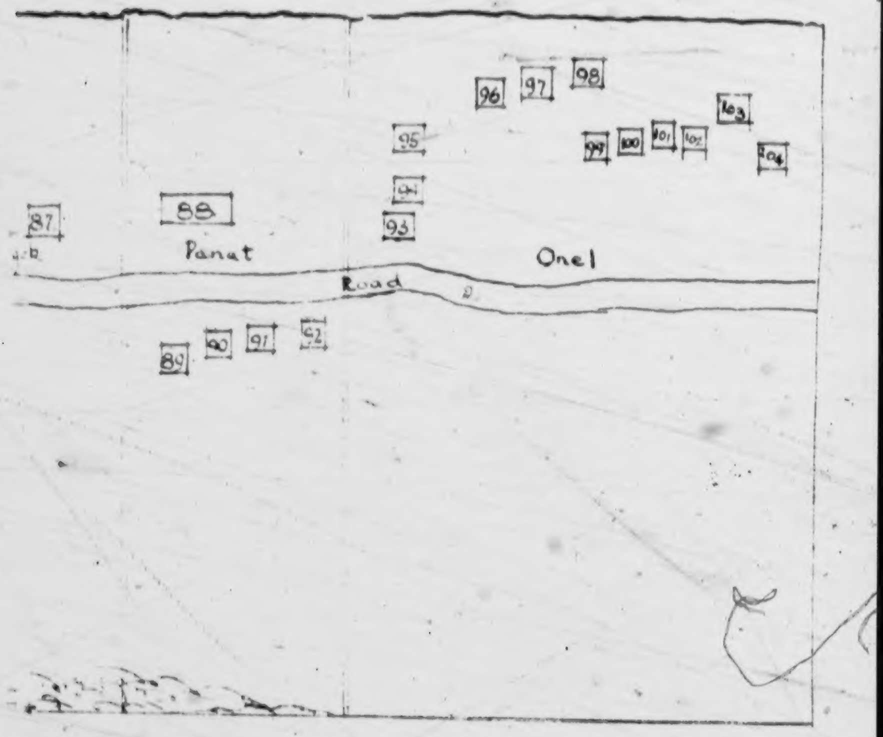

of houses.

86. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (1 male, 1 female).
87. Dwelling—man and wife, 3 children (1 male, 2 females).
88. Men's house.
89. Dwelling—old widow, her daughter, a young widow, and her young son.
90. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (males).
91. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
92. Dwelling—man and wife.
93. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (males).
94. Dwelling—man and 2 wives, 2 children (males, one by each wife).
95. Dwelling—man and wife, 4 children (3 males, 1 female).
96. Dwelling—man and wife.
97. Dwelling—widow, 3 children (1 male, 2 females).
98. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (1 male, 1 female).
99. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
100. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (male).
101. Dwelling—man and wife.
102. Dwelling—man and wife.

☒ The house in which I lived is marked with an X, and is in the hamlet of Penguli.

592 has its own life, so has each household. There is both a
division and sharing of labour in the care of the children,
in the gardening, in the cooking, and in all the activities
which compose the fabric of daily life. The daily meeting
of the family for its evening meal, the affection between
them, and even their quarrels, all help to wield them into
a close-knit unit.

161 The population of Lesu was 232, eleven of whom were
162 absent working on coconut plantations. There were 66
households, in which lived 62 adult males, 63 adult females,
65 male children, 42 female children. The accompanying
notes give the number now present in each household and
not the number of children born in each family. Some of
the children have died, others have married and formed
households of their own, and others may be away. The
average number of offspring per fruitful woman is 2·9.[1]

Kinship

MOIETY AND CLAN

616 Cutting across the local groupings are the lines of kinship.
136 The society is divided into two exogamous moieties, *Telenga*,
the fish hawk (*Pandion leucocephalus*, a marine bird which
feeds on fish it catches in the shallow water of the reef),
and *Kongkong*, the eagle (*Haliaëtus leucogaster*, a very large
bird living in high trees, and which often feeds on marine
animals which it sometimes obtains by chasing the *Telenga*
616 and catching the food it drops). The members of each
moiety regard themselves as related to each other in a
614 classificatory manner. Each moiety is divided into a number
of clans, an extended family group, all the members of

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[1] For detailed information on birth and death rates see the author's article, "Vital Statistics of New Ireland (Bismarck Archipelago) as Revealed in Genealogies," *Human Biology*, September 1931, Vol. 3, No. 3.

616 which are related in the female line.[1] The Hawk and Eagle
614 moieties appear to extend over all of New Ireland and the Tabar islands too, and the rule of exogamy functions wherever the moieties are found. The subdivision into clans, however, seems to vary in different linguistic units.[2] Because
616 of the rule of matrilocal residence, members of a clan may
614 reside in different villages, usually in near-by ones of the
591 same linguistic unit. If, for example, a Lesu man marries a woman from Ambwa, he will usually go to live there, leaving his clan relatives at Lesu. But he will return to Lesu for all rites and events in which the latter are concerned, and he will be buried there. The female members of the clan, because of the same rule of matrilocal residence, are more likely to reside in the same village and hamlet. Also, as marriages within the same village are quite common, a man will frequently not have to change his residence upon marriage.

616 Although Eagle and Hawk are the names of the two
614 moieties, there is, as far as I could learn, no theory of descent
773 from either animal.[3] The native explanation of the origin of the moiety and clan structure as well as of the whole social organization and of the culture itself is contained in a myth about their ancestral heroine, Tsenabonpil. The narrative relates in detail how the people of Lesu went to one of the Tabar islands near by because they were afraid of a pig named Luana, who ate people. The old woman,

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[1] The natives have only one word, *mutingbung*, to designate both moiety and clan. They differentiate the two by prefixing the adjective "big" for moiety, and "little" for clan.

[2] This statement is based on the literature of the area and on a limited amount of survey work which I was able to do in a few brief visits to other linguistic units.

[3] Peekel, in his study of central New Ireland, refers to these birds as gods of the marriage classes, and links them both with the sun and moon. Peekel, P. G., *Religion und Zauberai auf dem Mitteren New Mecklenburg, Collection Internationale de Monograhies, Ethnologiques, Anthropos*, Tom. I, 3 Fasc., pp. 6–8. I could find no evidence for either theory.

Tsenabonpil, was left behind because she had a swollen 616
leg (probably elephantiasis), and it was feared that she 614
would sink the canoe. After people left, she had intercourse 773
with a *kuwiwi* bird, and she gave birth to twin boys, Daror and Damuramurari. When the boys grew up Tsenabonpil told them that they must kill the cannibalistic pig, Luana. After many adventures they succeeded in capturing and killing him. Then the old woman sent some of the hair of the pig, attached to a coconut leaf, to Tabar, to indicate to the Lesu people that the pig had been killed. They returned in their canoes to Tabar, and now Tsenabonpil gave them their totemic structure and all knowledge. She cut marks on a tree to designate the two moieties and then made further markings as she called out the names of all the clans. At the same time she gave them knowledge of magic, of medicine, of all their crafts, and of everything else they now know. After this she and her two sons disappeared.

There is one supposition that Tsenabonpil is still alive, but where she is no one knows, and all the versions of the myth end with her disappearance.[1]

Each clan is associated with a small piece of land, occa- 614
sionally with a part of a reef, or a passage of water, and 423
sometimes all three. This clan or *tsenalis* ground is owned 825
communally by the clan members, and on it is supposed to dwell a totemic pig or snake (sometimes both), or, in the case of water, a shark. The adjective *tsenalis* is also used to describe the animal, which is friendly to people of its clan, but hostile to those of others. The animal is supposed to have lived on this ground for ever, and it is believed that it will continue to do so.

The following is a list of clans collected in the linguistic 614

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[1] It was quite impossible to get the natives to speculate on their social organization before Tsenabonpil gave them their present structure. She is regarded as the source of all knowledge, and beyond that they do not go.

614 unit in which I lived and mostly from the village of Lesu. When the clan is foreign, that of a person from another linguistic unit who has married into this district, the fact is noted in parenthesis. A brief description of the totemic land and animal associated with each clan is also given when known. It is probable that in the past other clans, the members of which are now all dead, existed in this [161] district. Because of the depopulation which has occurred, some clans now have only a very few members.

TELENGA (FISH HAWK) MOIETY

614
616

CLANS

Sinpop. Ground called Punbukua and located near the hamlet of Onel; animal, a pig named Tsinunas.

Sakwila. Ground named Belagila and about ten miles from Lesu; animal, a shark living in the water off the shore of Belagila.[1]

Pasabasaba. Ground is called by the same name, Pasabasaba, and consists of some rocks jutting part-way out into the water very close to the Belagila land of the Sakwila clan. Animal, a shark living in the water near by.[2]

Tsajil. Ground, a small section of the beach in the village of Langania and called by the clan name, Tsajil. No information about the animal.

Mala. Small part of beach near Pinakundo, about thirty miles from Lesu; two sharks named Lugadowai and Pamut.

Tujɔh. Stones jutting out into the water at the village of Langania called Kolabaruk; animal, a shark with the same name, Kolabaruk.

Palila. Ground, the small island of Jenusa close to the shore of Lesu. Tsenabonpil, the mythical culture heroine, is supposed to have lived on Jenusa and the hamlets directly opposite; animal, a pig.

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[1] A plantation by the same name, Belagila, is on this land now.

[2] The name of this shark is not in my notes.

Pananiwuk. A deep passage of water containing very large stones close to the island of Jenusa and called Selina; pig named Deklus is supposed to live under the big stone in the water. Another piece of ground called Lapalip, part of the beach off the hamlet of Pomenluasau, is also associated totemically with Pananiwuk clan. According to a myth it appears that Pananiwuk formerly had so many people in it that it split into two parts, one keeping the original name and the other being known as Lapalip. To-day they are considered as one clan. 614 616

Katombi (Tabar islands—foreign).

Linmaaruah (Fakmalak village—foreign).

Kunasarah (foreign).

Mungamap (foreign).

Mugatirin (foreign).

Paniwat.

Bunkoh.

Muhalua.

KONGKONG (EAGLE) MOIETY

CLANS

Sinimanbul. Ground on top of a mountain near the former bush hamlet, Lenopil, parallel with Lesu, but further in the bush and in the hills. The ground has two names, Kuritungaru and Tungarum. Animal is a female snake, called Kutamel. It is said that the snake makes its appearance when a Sinimanbul person is about to die and then disappears immediately afterwards. This clan was formerly a very big one, I am told, but now has only a few people in it.

Solema. (1) Rocky shore jutting out into the sea near Onel, and (2), the bush just behind it. The first part is called Memelinat and the second Lenserima. Animal is a female snake named Luluma. Tale of how the snake appears just before a member of the clan is about to die.

Maoga. Ground called Wasaua, and is part of the beach and bush at the village of Ambwa. Two animals: a shark named Bunbunjisam and a snake called Tulut.

614 *Saramangasi.* Ground at the Tabar Islands, called Samatra. Two animals: a snake called Latuba and a shark, Rowilau.

616 *Tupiic.* Ground has two names, Pentumasong and Ponmidaruk, and is part of the bush bordering the eastern end of Lesu. Animal is a snake called Mulamulalesu.

Tsililia. Ground called Punsimilan, and is part of the beach off the village of Ambwa and a little of the bush extending in from the beach. Shark, named Melamel, dwells in the water off the beach, and a snake, Salut, in the bush.

Kaba. Ground in the bush village of Malua (in hills back of Lesu). (Name of ground not known.) Snake on it called Muvil.

Noasa. Small part of beach and bush in from beach, half-way between the villages of Lesu and Ambwa, and called Bungmus. Snake, called Kuaterapu (female), lives in the bush part, and a shark, named Tsuntsunpal, in the water just off the beach. Only one member of this clan now survives, and he lives in Ambwa.

Peri. Beach and part of bush called Lunkenken, also between Lesu and Ambwa. Snake, called Tosali, and shark, Purau. On this site there was in the past a village called Poile. Sometime in the past an epidemic killed off most of the people in this village, and the few survivors went to either Lesu or Ambwa.

Munin. Ground and beach called Munin, and about thirty miles west of Lesu. Shark named Lagilat.

Lelil. Ground called Tsudmisit and just behind the hamlet of Penguii. Snake named Bukbugi. Only one survivor of this clan left, most of them having died from illness, according to the native tales.

Kaparak. A Tabar clan. Shark named Manbuta. In the past, I was told that the Kaparak people of the Tabar islands were buried at sea. A stone was tied to the foot of the corpse, which was then dropped into the sea. The men carrying the corpse called to the shark Manbuta, who was then supposed to come and carry the corpse to the bottom of the sea.

Eiru. A Tabar clan.

Butua. A Tabar clan.

Tsndiwes. 614
Nabuath. 616
Lendut (foreign).
Punbunaba.
Mulaiga.
Muhtin.

Only one folk-tale, which in any way indicated descent 614
from the *tsenalis* animal was told to me, and that referred 616
to the *Kaba* clan, whose totemic animal is the female snake
named Muvil. The tale tells how a *kaba* man named Subling 773
was walking in the bush and heard a child cry. On going
to the place from which the cry came he found a human
infant, a female child of the snake, Muvil. The man took
the child home with him and told the snake mother to
follow. Subling and his wife brought up the child whom
they call Pusaling, and Muvil, the snake mother, remained
near the house until the child reached puberty and married.
She had many children, all of whom of course belonged to
the *Kaba* clan.

Besides the clan animal each piece of clan land is inhabited 614
by the *gas*, a double of each living member of the clan. 774
It is difficult to get a very exact idea of the *gas*, other than 773
that each man, woman, and child possesses one, that it
dies when its human counterpart dies, that it may take
different forms (in one tale it appears as a dwarf), that it
lives in a *lima* tree, and that it is rarely seen by its human
counterpart. However, occasionally the folk-tales recount
a meeting between a human being and a *gas*. One of the
most interesting concerns the adventures of a man named
Muk, a member of the *Sinpop* clan, who lived in the hamlet
of Penguli. One day all the men of this hamlet, including
Muk, went fishing, and after they caught the fish they made
~~a~~ fire and prepared them for cooking. They had brought
no taro with them, and so Muk returned to the hamlet to

614 get some. With the taro he received from the women, he
774 was on his way back to the men on the beach, when he
773 came upon a group of *gas*, whom he mistook for men from Penguli; his own *gas* was among them. They said, "Who are you?" and he replied "Muk," and then they showed him his *gas*, also named Muk. They told him to catch a very large fish named *Un*. This he did, but the fish was too heavy for him to lift. His *gas*, however, lifted it without any effort.[1] Muk wanted to go now and find his companions, but the *gas* would not allow him to return, and took him, unwillingly, with them to the bush.

In the meantime all the men were waiting for Muk to come with the taro; finally, they had to eat the fish without it. When they returned to Penguli, they asked the women what had happened to Muk, and they could only tell how they saw Muk start off with the taro to join the men. They assumed that Muk was dead; his wife and clan relatives wailed, and preparations were begun for the mortuary rites.

However, the next day Muk returned to Penguli and related all that had happened to him, how he was not killed by the *gas* because his own *gas* protected him and did not permit the others to kill him. Muk recounted how, when the *gas* ate, the food did not stay long in their stomachs, and how immediately after eating they defaecated. The *gas*, including his own, overheard Muk telling this tale; they were cross and immediately strangled and killed him. The *gas* were never seen again. The mortuary feast was made for Muk.

614 The clan and moiety are much more than mere totemic
616 divisions of the society, for they are also very active function-
582 ing units. Since the moieties are exogamous, they set the structure for sex life. Members of the Hawk moiety must

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[1] Many other tales stress the strength of the *gas*, which can break a man in two as if he were a small branch of a tree, or lift up a house and carry it away, etc.

pick their mates from the Eagle moiety and *vice versa.* 614
Transgressing this rule, either in or out of marriage, is the 616
worse crime of Lesu society. Between the moieties there is [582]
a set of reciprocal duties, including an exchange of food at
pregnancy, birth, circumcision, first menstruation, marriage,
and death rites. As the members of a moiety are scattered
through households, hamlets, and villages, they generally
function as a unit only at these rites. The clan, on the other
hand, functions frequently as an economic unit, the members
assisting each other in all their important undertakings.
Since it is the important old men of the clan who are the 888
real governing force, the clan largely conditions the political 623
structure. These men are called *orang*, which may be translated 614
as old men of influence, rather than chief. It is they
who are an informal council, meeting in the men's house
and discussing and deciding any questions of importance.
Young and middle-aged men listen to them with respectful
attention. The position of *orang* in the clan is not inherited.
At the death of one, it may fall on his brother, but there is
no rule for the choice. The oldest and most influential man
of the clan, regardless of his exact relationship to the dead
man, will be regarded as an *orang*. His influence is based
on his age, strength of his personality, and his wealth.
Oratorical ability and magical knowledge also increase his
prestige. The *orang* is not formally chosen by an election.
In these small and primitive communities everyone knows
who is the most influential man, and he maintains his
position by mutual consent.

In the past, each village had a warrior chief, also called 624
orang, who was distinct from the clan *orang*. He had to know 554
war magic and was always a rich man. The position was
inherited, but not in a very exact line. His brother, his
brother's son, his sister's son, and his own son have all at
various times inherited a dead warrior chief's position. The
ability of the man and the personal preference of the old

137

THE ISLAND JENUSA JUST OFF THE COAST OF LESU

342
351

TYPICAL HOUSES

[facing p. 42]

624 incumbent of the post, seem to have been important factors
554 in the choice. However, to-day warfare has been abolished
by the white Government, the warrior chief no longer
exists, and it is therefore difficult to get exact information
518 on his role. But some idea of the type of warfare, which
appears to have been on a rather small scale, may be
gathered from a tale of fighting between Lesu and Tagam,
the two former villages now making up Lesu. The people
of Lesu were considered the best fighters of the two, and
the Tagam people were much afraid of them. Because of
their fear, Tagam members ran away to the village of
Fakmalak, and while they were gone the Lesu people stole
taro from the Tagam gardens and their pigs. This went on
for some time, until the Lesu people notified the Tagam
people, hiding at Fakmalak, that they were ready to make
peace. Accordingly the Tagam people returned and there
[128] was an exchange of *tsera* (currency) between the two. (This
is the first rite in peace-making.)

The day after their return the Tagam people went to
their gardens in the bush, but their chief, Seiut, stayed at
home in order to make a *kepkep* (breast ornament). The
Lesu people, who were not honest in their talk about peace,
now sent two men to kill Seiut. They came to his house
and said that they would like to watch him work on the
kepkep. He invited them in, and they killed him by cutting
his head open and slashing his body. A few of the Tagam
[201
334] people, who remained at home, beat the *kolamuth* (hollowed
tree-trunk used as a signalling drum), and the others returned
from their gardens. When they found their chief dead, they
were again afraid and wanted to run away back to Fakmalak.
But Lemlum, the Lesu chief, said that now they had attained
their object in killing Seiut, and that they were willing to
have real peace. A big feast was made by the Lesu people,
who gave uncooked taro and pig to the Tagam people.
Another exchange of *tsera* also took place, followed by ritual

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

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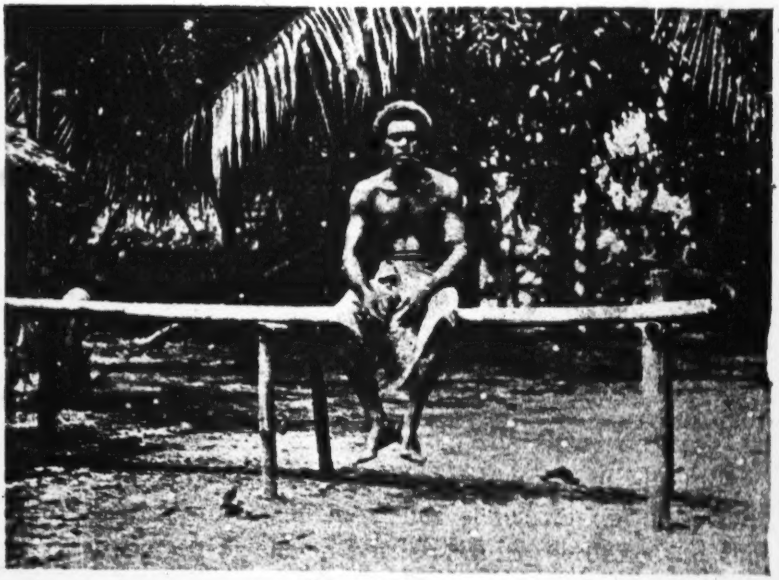
291
417



THE "LULUAI" OR CHIEF

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516
291

A HAPPY FAMILY IN FRONT OF THEIR HOME

[Facing p. 43]

578 dancing in which both villages and other neighbouring ones participated. A year later Tagam gave a return feast to Lesu. Seiut's younger brother, Sagari, became the new chief for Tagam.

624 To-day, in each village the white Government appoints a
648 man called "Luluai," who acts as an intermediary between
554 the natives and Government officials. In some villages the
888 "Luluai" is a man of outstanding personality, from the family of the former fighting chief, or an *orang* of his clan and a man of real influence in the village. In other villages the choice of a "Luluai" may not be so fortunate. But even when he is a man of influence and strong personality, it is still the important old men of the clan who are the real rulers of the community. The "Luluai," if he is only a middle-aged man, is guided by them on any matter of importance.

THE FAMILY

593 The smallest unit based on kinship is the family, which cuts directly across the moiety and clan, since the father, as has been previously stated, is always of a different clan and moiety from those of his wife and children. On some occasions, when the clan functions as a unit, this division is brought out very clearly, as at the wedding rites of a daughter, when the mother and her clan relatives are active and the father is in the background. But, as a whole, the
593 ties of sentiment which develop in family life are not severed.
428 For instance, although the rule for the inheritance of pro-
611 perty as well as status is that it comes through the female line, the former frequently comes down through the male line. Inheritance of property and of status are in quite different categories. The rule concerning status is inviolable. A child is always a member of his mother's clan and moiety. But a child may receive magical spells from his father as well as from his mother's brother or mother. Although a native informant will always tell you that the latter is the

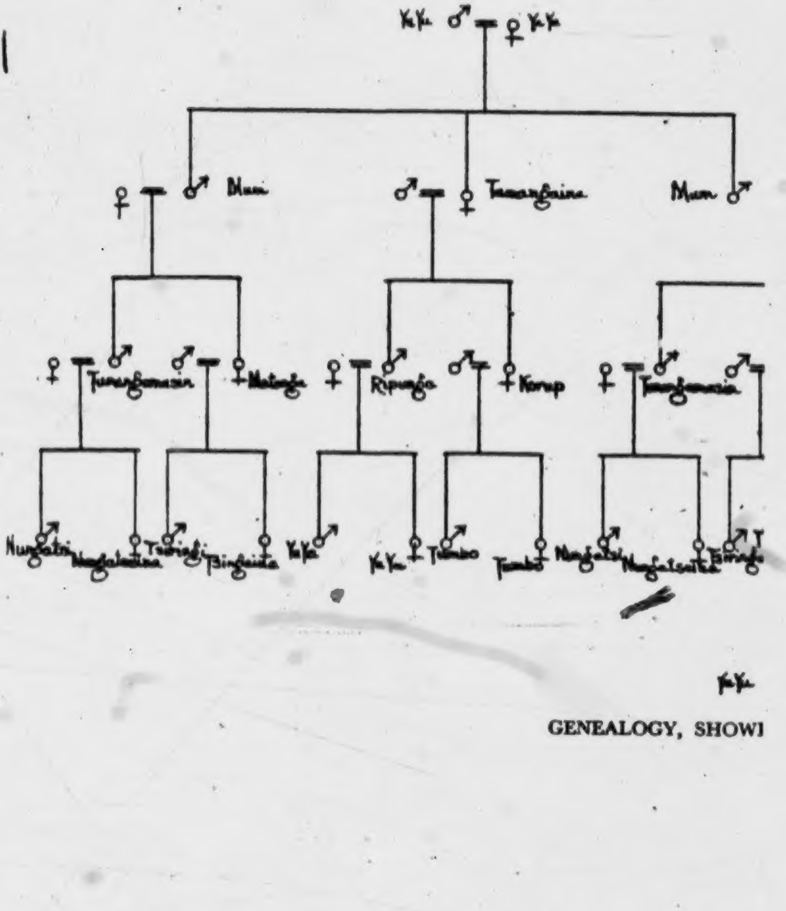
593 428 611 rule, in reality, when one studies concrete cases, as much magic is inherited in the male as in the female line. For the inheritance of property, including magic, the rule is not rigid and family sentiments frequently override clan rules.

593 Moreover, despite the cross-secting lines of the clan, the family has a decidedly unified life. It is the husband who clears the bush ground for cultivation, while his wife plants taro. It is he who fishes and brings the larger part of the catch to his wife. She prepares the taro for the evening meal, which they and the children enjoy together, apart from the rest of the hamlet. The mother nurses her infant, and her husband quite frequently takes care of him while she is busy in the garden, or with her cooking. By co-operation in the infinite number of details which comprise family life, the unity of the family is maintained. [837] Finally, a man and his wife have a close affectionate and sexual life, although extra-marital intercourse is rather usual. [578] Even wife-beating, which may cause a temporary rift, serves at the same time to assert the unity of the family; a man never beats his mistress.

CLASSIFICATORY KINSHIP SYSTEM

601 The kinship groups of moiety, clan, and family having been briefly sketched, it remains to describe in more detail the classificatory system of kinship. The distinctive element of any such system is that a single relationship term is applied to a large group of people and not just to one or a few individuals. The division of the society into two totemic, exogamous moieties has been noted, and the range of kinship terminology is the moiety, all the members of which are considered to be related. If, first, the principles of the system within the immediate family are grasped, it is easy to follow the more complicated extensions. The accompanying diagram of a genealogy helps to illustrate the points.

601

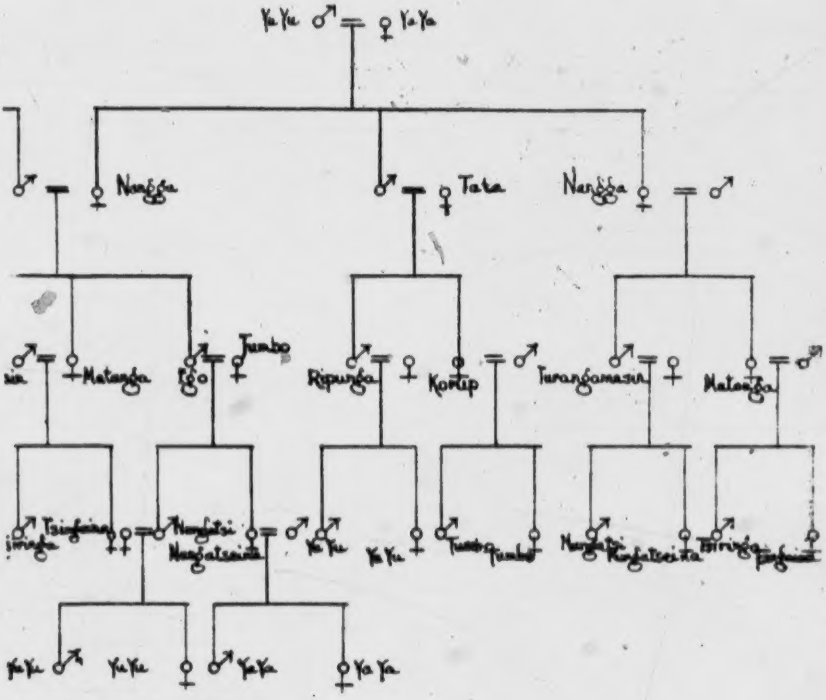

KaKu ♂ = ♀ KaKu
Mum
Ripunga
Korup
Tsiringi
KaKa
KaKu
Tumbo
Tumbo
KaKu

GENEALOGY, SHOWI

[Facing p. 44 (A)]

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

601


Ya Ya
Ya Ya
Nangga
Tata
Nangga
sia
Matanga
Igo
Jumbo
Ripunga
Kortip
Turangamasin
Matanga
Tsinfaina
iringa
Nangfatsi
Nangatsaina
Ya Ya
Ya Ya
Tumbo
Tumbo
Nangfatsi
Nangatsaina
Tsiringa
Tsinfaina
Ya Ya
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Ya Ya
Ya Ya

IOWING KINSHIP TERMS

[Facing p. 44(B)]

601

Although descent is through the mother, the system is bilateral, and on both the mother's and father's side there is a perfect balance in terminology. For example, the same kinship terms apply to the children of the father's sister as to those of the mother's brother, and this balance is found throughout the system.

The following is a list of kinship terms and all the extensions which I was able to collect and test through genealogies.

LIST OF KINSHIP TERMS WITH THEIR EXTENSIONS

With some of the terms a possessive is always used, and this is indicated by a hyphen before the term. Thus son is written *-tsi*. In actual use there would be a possessive before it, such as *nungatsi* (my son).

The term is the same whether the speaker is male or female, unless otherwise indicated.

Except in those particular cases in which the personal name is taboo, I was unable to observe any distinction between the use of personal names and kinship terms.

1. *Nangga:* mother; mother's sister; father's brother's wife; spouse's father's sister; mother's mother's sister's son's wife; mother's mother's brother's son's wife; mother's father's brother's son's wife; mother's mother's sister's daughter; father's mother's brother's daughter; mother's father's brother's daughter; mother's father's sister's son's wife.
2. *Mum:* father; father's brother; mother's sister's husband; father's father's brother's son; mother's mother's mother's brother's son; father's mother's sister's son; mother's sister's husband; father's mother's brother's daughter's husband; mother's mother's sister's daughter's husband.
3. *-tsi:* son; the extensions are all those of terms 1 and 2 in inverse order. Terms 1 and 2 are both reciprocal with term 3. There is no distinction in terminology between a first-born child and succeeding ones. The same terms are used for adopted children as for real ones.

601 4. *-tsaina:* daughter; the extensions are all those of terms 1 and 2 in inverse order. Terms 1 and 2 are both reciprocal for term 4.

5. *Matonga:* (*a*) male speaking, sister; father's brother's daughter; mother's sister's daughter; wife's father's sister's daughter; wife's mother's brother's wife; and to all women of the same moiety and generation for whom there is no other specific relationship.
   (*b*) female speaking, brother; mother's sister's son; father's brother's son; husband's sister's husband; husband's mother's sister's daughter's husband; and to all men of the same moiety and generation for whom there is no specific relationship.

6. *Turangamasin:* male speaking, brother; father's brother's son; mother's sister's son; wife's father's sister's son; and to all men of the same moiety and generation for whom there is no specific relationship.

7. *Towangaina:* female speaking, sister; mother's sister's daughter; father's sister's son's wife; father's brother's daughter; husband's mother's brother's daughter; and to all women of the same generation and moiety for whom there is no specific relationship.

8. *Tata:* (*a*) male speaking, mother's brother; mother's mother's sister's son; mother's mother's brother's daughter's husband; wife's father's brother.
   (*b*) female speaking, mother's brother; mother's brother's daughter's husband; father's sister's daughter's husband; father's sister's daughter's daughter's husband; husband's mother's brother's son; husband's mother's mother's brother's son; husband's father's sister's son; husband's sister's husband; mother's mother's brother's daughter's husband; husband's father's brother's son's wife; husband's mother's sister's daughter's husband.

9. *Tsiringa:* male speaking, sister's son and all extensions of term 8 (*a*) in inverse order.

10. *Tsingaina:* male speaking, sister's son and all extensions of term 8 (*b*) in inverse order.

11. *-tumbo:* male speaking, wife; father's sister's daughter's daughter; mother's brother's daughter's daughter; wife's father's brother's daughter's daughter.

12. *-malis:* female speaking, husband; the extensions are those of term 11 in inverse order.

13. *Yaya:* son's daughter; son's son; daughter's daughter; daughter's son; sister's son's son; sister's son's daughter; sister's daughter's daughter; sister's daughter's son; son's wife; sister's son's wife; brother's daughter's daughter; brother's daughter's son; brother's son's son; brother's son's daughter; father's sister's son's daughter; father's sister's son's son; father's brother's son's daughter's daughter; father's brother's son's daughter's son; father's brother's son's son's daughter; father's brother's son's son's son; father's brother's son's son's wife; mother's brother's son's son; mother's brother's son's daughter; mother's brother's son's son's wife; mother's brother's son's daughter's husband; mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son; mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter; mother's sister's daughter's son's daughter; mother's sister's daughter's son's son; mother's sister's son's daughter's daughter; mother's sister's son's daughter's son; mother's sister's son's son's daughter; mother's sister's son's son's son; spouse's sister's son's spouse; spouse's brother's son's son; spouse's brother's son's daughter; spouse's brother's daughter's daughter; spouse's brother's daughter's son; spouse's mother's mother; spouse's mother's father; spouse's mother's sister's daughter's son's wife; spouse's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's husband; spouse's mother's sister's son's son; spouse's mother's sister's son's son's wife; mother's brother's daughter's daughter's daughter; mother's brother's daughter's daughter's son; mother's sister's daughter's son's daughter; mother's daughter's son's son; father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter; father's sister's daughter's daughter's son; father's sister's daughter's son's daughter; father's sister's daughter's son's son; father's sister's son's daughter's daughter; father's sister's son's daughter's son; father's sister's son's son's daughter; father's sister's son's son's son; father's brother's daughter's daughter's daughter; father's brother's daughter's daughter's son; father's brother's daughter's son's daughter; father's brother's daughter's son's son; father's brother's son's daughter's daughter; father's brother's son's daughter's son; father's brother's son's son's daughter; father's brother's son's son's son;

601 (*a*) male speaking only, spouse's mother's brother's son's son; spouse's mother's brother's son's daughter; spouse's mother's brother's daughter's daughter; spouse's mother's brother's daughter's son; mother's sister's son's son's wife; wife's brother's daughter; wife's brother's son's wife; wife's father's sister's husband; wife's father's sister's daughter's son's wife; wife's father's brother's son's son; wife's father's brother's son's daughter;

(*b*) female speaking only, father's sister's wife; husband's mother's sister; husband's mother's sister's husband; husband's mother's brother; husband's mother's brother's wife.

yaya is a reciprocal term.

14. *Korup:* a taboo relationship;

male speaking, father's sister's daughter; mother's brother's daughter; wife's mother; wife's father's brother's daughter; extension to all the women of his wife's mother's clan and generation, such as his wife's mother's sister, unless there is some other specific relationship; mother's mother's brother's daughter; wife's mother's father's brother's daughter; wife's father's brother's wife; wife's father's father's brother's son's wife; father's father's sister's son's wife; wife's father's mother's sister's son's wife.

The term is reciprocal.

15. *Jamungo:* male speaking, daughter's husband; brother's daughter's husband; father's sister's daughter's husband; father's brother's son's daughter's husband; mother's sister's son's daughter's husband; wife's father; wife's sister's daughter's husband; wife's father's brother's daughter's husband; wife's mother's sister's husband.

The term is reciprocal.

16. *Onga:* (*a*) male speaking, sister's husband; father's brother's daughter's husband; mother's sister's daughter's husband; wife's brother; wife's father's sister's daughter's husband; wife's mother's sister's son;

(*b*) female speaking, husband's sister; mother's sister's son's wife; father's brother's son's wife; husband's sister; husband's father's brother's daughter; wife's mother's brother's daughter's son's wife; husband's mother's sister's daughter.

The term is reciprocal, and used only between people of the same sex.

17. *Papa:* (*a*) male speaking, brother's wife; father's brother's son's wife; mother's sister's son's wife; wife's sister; wife's father's sister's son's wife; wife's mother's sister's daughter; (*b*) female speaking, sister's husband; mother's sister's daughter's husband; father's brother's daughter's husband; husband's brother; husband's father's sister's husband; husband's father's brother's son; husband's mother's sister's son; husband's mother's brother's daughter's daughter's husband.

The term is reciprocal, and used only between people of opposite sex.

18. *Ripunga:* male speaking, father's sister's son; father's sister's daughter's son; mother's brother's son; wife's father's brother's son.

The term is reciprocal, and used only between males.

19. *Ripungaina:* female speaking, mother's brother's daughter; father's sister's daughter; father's sister's daughter's daughter; husband's mother's brother's son's daughter.

The term is reciprocal, and used only between females.

20. *Tinamai:* male speaking, sister's daughter's husband; mother's sister's daughter's daughter's husband; wife's brother's daughter's husband; wife's father's sister's daughter's daughter's husband; wife's mother's brother's daughter's husband; wife's mother's husband.

The term is reciprocal, and used only between males.

21. *-aina:* female speaking, brother's son's wife; father's sister's daughter's son's wife; mother's brother's son's daughter; mother's sister's son's son's wife; husband's mother's brother's son's son's wife.

The term is reciprocal, and used between females.

22. *Tamangaina:* father's sister; father's mother's sister's daughter; father's mother's father's sister's son's wife; father's father's brother's daughter.

23. *-nat:* reciprocal term for 22, when a male is being addressed.

601 24. *-nataina:* reciprocal term for 22, when a female is being addressed.

25. *Ingatsung:* mother's brother's spouse;
  (*a*) male speaking, husband's father's brother's wife;
  (*b*) female speaking, husband's sister's son; husband's sister's daughter; husband's father's brother's daughter's son; husband's father's brother's daughter's daughter; husband's mother's brother's son's wife.
  The term is reciprocal.

26. *-tamuth:* (*a*) male speaking (*lowanga* sometimes used instead of *tamuth*); mother's brother's daughter's son's wife; mother's brother's daughter's daughter's husband; father's sister's daughter's daughter's husband; wife's sister's husband; wife's mother's sister's daughter's husband; father's sister's husband;
  (*b*) female speaking, husband's brother's wife; husband's father's sister; husband's father's brother's son's wife; husband's mother's sister's son's wife.
  The term is reciprocal.

We can now discuss certain fundamental principles underlying the system and the more important behaviour patterns accompanying the kinship terms.

582 The preferred marriage for a man is with the daughter of his cross-cousin, i.e. with his mother's brother's daughter's daughter, or his father's sister's daughter's daughter (see terms 11, 12). The man would thus always be in the generation above his wife. Whether this marriage takes place or not, the terms for husband and wife are used between a man and his cross-cousin's daughter, and he calls his cross-cousin's daughter's children by the same terms as he calls his own. If the preferred marriage always occurred, intermarriage between the same clans would then happen, resulting in a possible class system. But the preferred marriage does not always occur. Very many times marriages, other than the preferred one, are made. The following analysis of 353 marriages indicate how far there is any

evidence for a system of interclan marriage. Numbers are used to indicate clans of the Eagle moiety. 582

INTERMARRIAGE BETWEEN CLANS[1]

Eagle Clans.	Number of Marriages Recorded.	Number of Clans of Opposite Moiety into which Marriages were made.	Highest Number and Per Cent. of Marriages into any one Clan.	
			Number.	Per Cent.
1	40	12	7	0.17
2	95	14	31	0.32
3	16	9	7	0.41
4	64	12	20	0.31
5	50	10	22	0.44
6	46	14	10	0.21
7	42	12	15	0.35

From the above table it can be seen that one clan never makes even fifty per cent of its marriages into any one given clan of the opposite moiety, and that there cannot therefore be said to be any class system of interclan marriages. Percentages, however, such as forty-one and forty-four, would seem to indicate some tendency for certain clans to intermarry. But a number of incidental factors, such as neighbouring residence of the two clans, might account for the tendency.

It is quite customary for two brothers to marry two sisters, and it also happens fairly frequently that a man marries his brother's widow.

The prohibited marriages are: (1) between any two 582
members of the same moiety; (2) between cross-cousins: 835
the *korup* relationship, a man and his mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter; (3) between parent and child. The first prohibited marriage thus includes

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[1] A more detailed table of interclan marriages giving fuller data is recorded in the Appendix II.

582 brothers and sisters, real and classificatory, and the breaking 835 of this taboo is the very worse crime of the society. The taboo applies just as strongly to sexual intercourse as to marriage. Breaking the sex taboo between cross-cousins and between parents and children, while considered a great social crime, is not quite so bad as breaking the brother-sister taboo. In the past the penalty for breaking any of [684] the incest taboos was death; the guilty individuals were killed by members of their own clan. No such breach occurred during my visit, and since killing is now forbidden by the Mandated Government, it is difficult to say what the punishment would be to-day. There are no tales of any incestuous marriages, but tales of incestuous intercourse with the punishment of the offenders are told. Since we know only about the few who have been caught, it is difficult to estimate even generally how frequently the taboo is broken. But it is quite evident that most of the natives have a horror of incest. Even a dream of it makes them thoroughly ashamed.

605 The *korup* relationship between cross-cousins of opposite sex (see term 14) is the one surrounded with the most ritual prohibitions. Personal names must never be mentioned, and instead the term *korup* is used when one member of the relationship wishes to refer to the other. Between children the term the diminutive, *koko,* is used. The two *korup* relatives do not go near each other. If it would be absolutely necessary that they speak, it would be done briefly, at a distance of about twenty-five feet. Food is exchanged [431] between them, but always through the medium of a third person.

582 A man's preferred mate is this same *korup's* daughter, whom he calls by the term *-tumbo* (wife, see term 11), whether 606 he marries her or not. If he marries another woman who does not stand in the relationship of a cross-cousin's daughter, her mother becomes [illegible] to him. Thus mother-in-law is

582 606 always a taboo relationship to a man. Whether this taboo relationship is fundamentally a cross-cousin or a mother-in-law one is at present a matter of conjecture.[1]

605 Between cross-cousins of the same sex (*ripunga* and *ripungaina*, see terms 18 and 19) there is friendliness, cordiality, and affection. The link connecting them is the very close and affectionate mother's brother or father's sister, and there is no possibility of sex conflict, because they are of the same sex.

593 A mutually helpful and affectionate relationship exists between parents and children. An infant or child is cared for by the older member, and in a similar way an old, feeble member is dependent upon the younger one of the relationship.

There is also a friendly helpful and fond relationship between brothers and between sisters. A brother and sister relationship is marked by friendliness and helpfulness, but at the same time there is a semi-avoidance to insure an absence of sexual relations. Sexual play between them before puberty is prohibited, and while there is a frequent exchange of gifts and services in adult life, there are no intimacies. Conversation is limited to a minimum.

601 604 The term mother is used for the mother's sister and father for the father's brother, and a person calls his mother's, sister's, and father's brother's children by the term brother and sister (see terms 1, 2, 3, 4). Should a native's own mother be dead, his mother's sister takes her place. Similarly, if an old woman's own children are dead, her sister's children will take care of her. If a native's mother and mother's sisters are all alive, some of his duties towards the latter will remain latent. But other duties, such as assistance in garden work, will be carried out.

For the mother's brother and father's sister new terms

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[1] The native word for taboo when applied to objects (and not to people) is *korul*. So whether *korup* is a kinship term in the same sense that "mother" is, or whether it is simply a word for taboo, is also uncertain.

601 604 are used (see terms 8, 9, 10, 22, 23, 24). The former is the closer of the two relationships, and this can easily be correlated with the fact that in this matrilineal society descent is through the mother. The mother's brother accepts economic responsibilities for rites held during his nephew's and niece's infancy and youth, and they, when grown up, accept economic responsibilities towards their maternal uncle, assisting him in various undertakings and providing his mortuary feast. Between a man and his sister's children there is a warm personal relationship throughout life. Friendly obligations between a native and his father's sister also exist, but they are of less significance than those towards his mother's brother. When one member of the former relationship is dancing it is the privilege of the other one to hit the dancer on the back with white lime, and the dancer will then be obliged to give him a small gift, usually tobacco, after the dance is over.

601 603 The reciprocal term *yaya* used between grandparents and grandchildren (see term 13) is one of the most widely extended ones. Real grandparents have duties at the birth of their grandchildren and contribute food to the feast when their daughter or daughter-in-law gives birth to a child. The relationship throughout life is an affectionate one.

551 607 A taboo on personal names exists in the *onga* relationship (see term 16). A man cannot mention the personal name of his wife's brother nor a woman the personal name of her husband's sister. They usually refer to each other as the father or mother of so-and-so. But that is as far as the taboo goes. The two members in the relationship can work and talk together and be good friends.

In the *papa* relationship (see term 17) there is no such name taboo. A man calls his brother's wife and a woman her sister's husband by their own name, and the relationship is a friendly one. They are, of course, potential mates in the event of the death of their spouse.

The individual family provides the initial situation and the primary meaning of the kinship terms, but this does not mean that a term has exactly the same meaning regardless to whom it refers. For example, the extension of the term mother to the mother's sister, father's brother's wife, etc. (see term 1), is a linguistic extension, and does not necessarily mean that sociologically they are equivalent. A native never confuses his mother and mother's sister (and all the other relatives to whom the term mother is used) with each other, although he may call them all by the same name. There is a decided difference in emotional tone according to whether the term mother is used towards a real mother or one of the other relatives to whom the term also refers. A classificatory mother does not observe the sexual taboos of a real mother. As Professor Malinowski has shown, the use of the same term emphasizes the similarities in the two relationships and ignores the differences. 601 602

While the kinship terminology extends throughout the moiety, i.e. a man calls all the women of his own moiety and generation, who are not otherwise related to him, sister, the initial pattern of behaviour formed within the immediate family is not always extended so far. Behaviour patterns, for the most part, tend to grow fainter and vaguer as the actual kinship relationship becomes more extended. Within the immediate family, and also within the clan, behaviour is closely correlated with the terminology. The weakening of the behaviour associated with certain terms occurs to a very small degree within the clan. But outside the clan, and in the further removed extensions, there may be no correlation, or very little, of behaviour with kinship terminology. For example, the behaviour of a man towards his *korup* (see term 14), who is his cross-cousin or mother-in-law, is one of strict avoidance, and this behaviour extends to all women of his *korup's* clan and generation, who are not otherwise related to him; but it does not extend to the [616]

604 women outside of this clan, even though they may stand 602 in a classificatory *korup* relationship. One man is known to have married a woman who was *korup* to him in a very wide classificatory sense, and the marriage was not considered a transgression of the social rule.[1] The terminology is extended on both sides, through the father and through the mother and to include in-laws, the generation, moiety, and sex always being the same as in the initial or primary family relationship. Thus *nangga* (mother, see term 1) is always a female and of the same moiety and a generation above the speaker. This is true of a real mother and of one of the furthest extensions of the term such as to mother's father's sister's son's wife. But while the terminology is extended throughout the moiety, it is the clan through which descent and inheritance are traced which emphasizes behaviour. Thus a man will act to some degree as a son to all those women whom he calls mother and who are of his real mother's clan. But he does not necessarily act as a son to the other women whom he calls mother and who are of his mother's moiety but not of her clan. The clan forms the limit to which the behaviour accompanying the kinship terminology applies. Beyond the clan the terms may apply, but the patterns of behaviour have grown very faint. The one exception to this is the extension of the brother-sister relationship and the incest taboo between them. It is regarded as incestuous for any man and woman of the same moiety, regardless of their lack of actual relationship, to have sexual intercourse. Thus the strongest taboo of the society is applied the most widely.

601 One of the functions of the kinship system appears to be the elimination of sexual interest in regard to certain people and the restriction of it to others. The exogamous function

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[1] This particular *korup* relationship was so far extended that the individuals concerned were unable to trace it for me, and it did not come out in their respective genealogies.

of the moiety system automatically forbids a man to have 601 sex relations with his mother, sisters, grandmother, mother's sister, parallel cousins, all of whom belong to his moiety. His daughter, who is of a different moiety, is also made taboo to him, although there is no ritual surrounding the prohibition. The making of the female cross-cousin, (term 14) of his own generation and of a different moiety taboo to him completes the elimination of sexual interest towards those women with whom a man mingles in his workaday life. On the other hand, the selection of two people, the daughters of cross-cousins (see term 11), as preferred mates, gives sexual interest a specific place. Sex interest is thus theoretically localized and centred instead of being diffused. This might make for an efficiency in work, since it is difficult to mingle numerous erotic interests which are obsessive and distractive with practical affairs, such as the gardening and fishing of everyday life. However, the fact that these incest taboos are occasionally broken shows that desires cannot always be held in check by a kinship system and its rules. But speaking broadly, the system works.

The extension of the family relationships into the broader circles of clan and moiety forms this kinship system, the axis about which the social life of the individual revolves. To some relatives he will have economic responsibilities; to some he will be affectionate, while to others he may not talk; some women are forbidden to him, while others are potential mates. And so his life moves through the pattern spun by the kinship system.

SEX

The two major groupings based on locality and kinship 571 have been described. There remains the third manner in 562 which the society is divided, on lines of sex. In much of

571 562 [535] the social life of the community the men function as units apart from the women. One outward manifestation of masculine solidarity is the men's house, their club-house, which the women may not enter. Most of the feasts are also purely masculine affairs. The dances, too, maintain the social division of the sexes. For months before a rite the women will rehearse every night at one end of the village, while the men practise their dance at the other end. On the day of the ritual event the same sex distinction is maintained in the dancing. (This rule is broken on a few occasions.) In the general social life of the community, whether that be the hamlet or village, it is the women who meet to cook, to gossip, and to dance, while the men come together to fish, to eat, to talk, to dance, and also to gossip. In the family life, except in the case of taboo relatives, the sexes mingle freely in their social intercourse. But in the social life of the community the two keep quite apart.

Thus, an individual born into this society becomes automatically a member of various groups. His sex will determine one group; he will inherit his clan and moiety from his mother; his place of residence (house, hamlet, and village) will depend upon where his parents live. This grouping will influence him for the rest of his life.

While the infant is a member of all these groups at birth, they do not all begin to function at the same time. At birth, certain close relatives surround him, and it is from these that he obtains the first impressions of the world. Gradually this group is enlarged until it includes his whole immediate family, then the clan, and finally the moiety. In the same way, as he grows older, he becomes aware of a community larger than his household. When he can crawl about, the hamlet becomes his playground, and later, as a child, he roams through the village. As an adult he will go to near-by villages for ritual events, particularly those in which members of his own clan are concerned. But he

will not, as a rule, wander far away, to a distant village 571
where another language is spoken, unless he goes on business 562
for the white man. His entrance into his own sex group will come gradually. The life of a very young male infant does not differ from that of a female.

The elements of the social organization have been briefly 000
described. But this social structure does not exist in a vacuum, but only through the individuals living in it. Any functional study will show the individual actually living in the particular configuration known as his society. Since this configuration is plastic, every individual does not receive quite the same impress from it. There are variations, and it is these which must be noted in a truly functional study. An analysis which does not take into account the elasticity of the configuration cannot be said to approach reality.

In the succeeding chapters an attempt is made to portray the Lesu people as they are living to-day. Each member of the village will not react to his cultural environment in exactly the same manner as his neighbour does, and the pattern of behaviour will not always be logical or consistent.

CHAPTER II

INFANCY

843 **Among** the Lesu people an impending birth is a matter of communal concern. The news that a woman is pregnant spreads rapidly, and is almost immediately celebrated with a special ceremony. When Lagina failed to menstruate for a month some women came to her hamlet (Onel) expecting to hold pregnancy rites. But they decided to postpone them for a month just to make sure that she really was pregnant. And so at the end of two months, when everyone was quite certain that Lagina was going to have a child, the appropriate ritual was held.

843 614 Lagina is a member of the Hawk moiety. A group of Hawk women go to the house of Molung, who is of the Eagle moiety and a member of the Solema clan, which is the clan of the pregnant woman's husband. The Hawk women, faces smeared with white lime, advance joyfully and laughingly and push each other into Molung's house, pull the fire to pieces, throw the hot wood and stones through the doorway to the compound outside, and then hilariously dance around the place where the fire had been. This is the *Grimisi* dance. Lagina, the pregnant woman, is present, but takes no part in the proceedings, and stands aloof in the background. Molung, who sees her house being thrown into confusion, stands aside, smilingly. When the women have finished their dancing, Molung, assisted by her husband, gives each of the Hawk women a few uncooked taro and four or five coconuts. Then off they go, carrying the food in their baskets, to Brakko's house. She also is a member of the Solema clan and Eagle moiety. The same scene is enacted there. It is all done in a spirit of playful fighting—fighting because they come in and disrupt the fire, create

843 616 disorder and confusion; but play in that it is all done laughingly, and the native term for it *muril* is literally translated "play fight." Brakko also gives the Hawk women coconuts, and now they return home. Both Molung and Brakko are assisted in the collection of the necessary taro and coconuts for this rite by women of the Solema clan.

843 616 522 But even though the rule is that it is the Hawk women who dance and engage in their more or less destructive gaiety when an Eagle woman is pregnant, or *vice versa*, this does not prevent the exception from happening. At the scene just described, Maerabit, a member of the Eagle moiety, joins in the dancing of the Hawk women. But its only significance, according to the natives, is that Maerabit always plays the clown and joins in any dancing or fun that may be going on. She is a grandmother and a woman past middle-age, but she is also a born jester, and is always amusing the crowd with her antics. The mere fact that her moiety would ordinarily bar her from participating in these hilarious rites will not stop her. Her grown-up daughters are ashamed of their mother's clownishness, and occasionally remonstrate with her, but Maerabit goes joyously on.

The playful fighting does not stop at the end of the one occasion just described, but is continued all during the pregnancy period, whenever the women of the village are assembled. Perhaps they are sitting on the ground chatting, after finishing their cooking, when suddenly a woman of the Hawk moiety jumps on the back of an Eagle woman, or pulls her loin-cloth, or jumps up and down on the outstretched legs of the woman as she sits on the sand. It is always done playfully and with much laughter both on the part of the participants and of the onlookers. The mother of the pregnant woman, both real and classificatory, is the particular victim of the women of the opposite moiety. But frequently the clowning becomes quite general, all the

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616 women present engaging in it. For a first pregnancy it is
522 carried on more extensively than for a later one.

If it is the first one, the pregnant woman exchanges part
843 of a baked taro with a woman who has had children successfully. The latter will eat half of a baked taro and give the remaining half to the expectant mother, who will return the gift with another half of a taro. It is believed that this exchange of taro will help the woman to deliver her child successfully. On the whole, she eats perhaps a little less than she did before. She thinks that if she eats too much the embryo will "fight" in her stomach. Certain fish containing many bones are taboo for either the pregnant woman or her husband to eat. This, however, is not strictly a pregnancy taboo, as it holds during the whole time of possible child-bearing, and applies to both the mother and her husband. It is believed that if the fish is eaten by either one, the future children will be hurt. When the child-bearing period is past the fish can be eaten. During childhood it is taboo to the female child, but not to the male.[1]

The woman who is pregnant goes about her daily work much as usual, and there is no custom of stopping work before the expected birth. However, exceptions are made in special cases. When one woman who had had several children born dead was again pregnant, she did not work quite as hard as usual after the fifth or sixth month. In her garden

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[1] My discovery of the fish taboo came about in this way. A man from a bush village, but now living on the coast, presented me with a fish he had caught in return for a slight service I had rendered in giving some medicine to his sick child. Various women were present when the fish was given me, and immediately there was a great uproar—scolding of the man, much loud and angry talk, and the fish was taken away from me. It was not until they had quieted down somewhat that I could get at the cause for this sudden anger. It was explained that if I had eaten this fish I would never have healthy children, or perhaps they would be born dead. The man who had wanted to give me the noxious fish was called "an ignorant fool from the bush," after the women were convinced that he had no malicious intentions towards my "future children."

843 work she was assisted by her daughter, her mother's sister, and the latter's daughter. Her husband also helped her a little more than usual. Both were very anxious, after all the past mishaps, that the coming child should live.

834 During this period the pregnant woman has no sexual intercourse, either with her husband or anyone else. Her husband, however, is permitted to have sexual relations with other women. Other pregnancy taboos affect the husband and not the wife. No man with a pregnant wife can fish or hunt wild pig. If he does, it is thought that he will have no success. Merely accepting food from any pregnant woman is considered inimical to fishing. In the magic connected with shark-fishing there is a spell designed to rid the man of the evil effects of having eaten with such a woman. One day a man, Tukan, returned from an unsuccessful hunt for wild pig, and he blamed his failure on the fact that there were so many women in the beginning of their pregnancy in the village. He said that they had eaten pig, and that this had weakened the dog's powers—how, he could not explain. Tukan made a magical spell over his dog to counteract this bad effect, and was confident that the next time he would have better luck when he went pig-hunting.

844 When the woman feels that the child is due she bathes in the sea to cleanse herself. The husband leaves the house and goes to sleep in the men's house, and she goes to her mother's house. Occasionally her mother will come to her house. If the mother is dead, the mother's sister (whose kinship term is mother) takes her place. A few women of the hamlet, usually kin to the pregnant woman and who have had children, assist, and sometimes one woman more skilled than the others takes the lead in helping deliver the child.

The parturient woman sits on the ground. Another woman sits at her back and supports her by clasping her waist with

844 both arms. A second woman sits in front, holding the legs
wide open, and catches the child as it comes out. If the
[845 head does not come first some woman known for her skill
616] will insert two fingers or the whole hand in the vulva and
assist the delivery of the child with the fingers. Both of these women are usually of the opposite moiety from the parturient woman. Her mother, although present, is never one of them. The natives give as a reason that the mother is ashamed to look at her daughter's sexual organs. Sometimes, while the birth is taking place, one woman will massage the stomach of the parturient woman and recite a spell as she does so. All these women who have been of assistance at the birth will later be paid for their services. At the birth of the infant Murri in the village of Ambwa, the mother, Luga, was supported by a woman of her moiety, and wife of the infant's father's classificatory brother. In front, assisting the deliverance of the child was a woman of the opposite moiety and classificatory sister of the infant's father.

After the child is born, the mother bathes in the sea, rubbing her abdomen with a downward motion to get rid of the after-birth. She comes back, feeds the child, and then lies down in the house on the bamboo bed with her infant. Should the mother's breasts not be sufficiently developed, another woman will suckle the infant. She is selected merely for the fullness of her breasts, and with no regard to her relationship to the child or its mother. The mother remains in the house with the child for about a week.

The umbilical cord, *bitung*, is saved by the mother and put in a basket along with some *tsera* (currency). It is kept in this manner until adult life, when it is sometimes thrown away.

A few hours after the birth the baby is held over a fire made of dry grass and coconut shells, and water is poured over him. Both the smoke of the fire and the water are supposed to make the infant strong. The infant's mother's sister officiated at one of these rites which I witnessed. 844 Later, on the same day, there is again the playful fighting between the women of opposite moieties. At the birth of the infant Murri in Ambwa the Eagle women of that village came to Lesu, three miles away, to indulge in this playful fighting with the wife of the new mother's brother, i.e. her sister-in-law. Also Hawk women from the more distant village of Libba came to Ambwa to fight playfully with the Eagle women there.

During the first day of his life the infant will become 844 betrothed. 584 If the newly-born infant is a girl, the mother of some boy of the opposite moiety will come up and "mark" the infant as the future wife of her son. No ritual is concerned with the "marking," the native name for which is *disirani*. The prospective mother-in-law merely announces the betrothal, and later brings a piece of baked taro, which she has chewed first, and gives it to the infant. If the newly-born infant is a boy, the father of some girl will "mark" him as the future husband of his daughter. The infant betrothal of female infants seems to be more common than it is for male infants, and Murri was not betrothed. The parents of the infant never object. As a matter of fact, the infant's father usually knows nothing about it until after it is over, as he is not present in the house just after the birth. When he does come in his wife tells him who has "marked" the child. As will be seen later, quite frequently this infant betrothal is not consummated in marriage, and both parties take other mates.

On the day of the birth, or on the following day, should 844 the baby have been born late in the day, a distribution of 851 coconuts and taro takes place. At the birth of the infant Murri this feast was held the day after his birth. A large group of women from Ambwa and Lesu were assembled for the feast. The Lesu women walked to Ambwa, and as they neared the village, moving in single file on the narrow

844 footpath through the bush leading from the road to the 851 beach, and led by Maerabit, they yelled loudly, announcing their approach. As soon as they arrived, they filed into the house where the new baby was lying. In many little ways they showed their affection and joy in the new child, patting him and "crowing" over him. The infant's mother was not with him, but was in the cook-house preparing taro, and her mother was with the baby.

844 The women filed out of the house, and in their usual 851 nonchalant manner sat on the ground waiting for the 431 distribution of food. Murri, the infant's mother's brother, was master of ceremonies, and stood by the pile of coconuts and made a short speech, saying that these coconuts and taro were for the new infant, that this was only a small distribution of food, but that later they would have a much bigger feast. He was then assisted by the matrilineal grandfather of the infant in the distribution of the food to the women, who had all brought coconuts to the feast, and thus contributed as well as received them. First, each woman was given four coconuts, which was regarded as a new gift, then she received a large pile which was considered as a return gift for those she contributed. Each woman fills her [482] basket with the taro and coconuts. They all walk home together, with the baskets on their backs.[1]

844 Women of the opposite moiety have celebrated the arrival of a new member to the community by playfully fighting each other for months before he arrived and on the day of his birth. He was ushered into the world in feminine company; his grandmother and other women of his hamlet were

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[251] [1] Usually, at this feast, some of the taro has been prepared in a special way months in advance. The inside is scooped out and it is baked and hung up on the ceiling of the house to dry for many months. The resulting taro is hard and brittle, quite different from the ordinary baked taro and is considered a delicacy. The few who know this method usually begin preparations as soon as they hear of a pregnancy, and long before the actual birth.

there. His father was not present. His matrilineal uncle has 844 given the initial feast for him. The women of his own and neighbouring villages have all seen him, patted him, and rejoiced in his arrival. But all these are only the beginning of the rites for the newborn child. The next month is a busy one. Another feast must be held, and medicine and magic must be made to give him strength.

The mother divides her time between nursing him and 846 tending her garden. The first week or two after birth the 853 mother stays home with her child, lying most of the time in the dark house on the bamboo bed with the infant and nursing him whenever necessary. Two or three days after birth she feeds him a piece of baked taro which she has first chewed, and small quantities of this form part of the infant's diet from now on. The baby is not suckled at any regular time, but is given his mother's breast whenever he cries, or the mother thinks he is hungry. During these first few weeks of the infant's life his mother's work in the garden is done by her mother and mother's sister if they are not too old, or a grown-up daughter if she has one, or some other female clan relative. Babies may be born, live, or die, but work in the gardens must go on all the time.

After two weeks the mother of the infant resumes her work 853 in the garden, nursing the child before she goes and immedi- 854 ately upon her return. She will often return earlier than the other women in order to nurse her child. The infant's [603] maternal grandmother stays at home to look after him. When Lagina became pregnant all the women expressed sorrow because her mother was dead. Who would look after her child while she was working in the garden? They expressed this sorrow in the *Grimisi* dance, performed during the first pregnancy rites, by placing their hands on the head of the woman next to them. I was told later that Lagina's sister, Mana, recently divorced, who was living with Lagina, would look after the child. If the mother should be far away

853 in the gardens and the baby cries for milk, the infant may
854 be suckled by another woman, if one with milk happens to be present. But this is not done normally, and usually only the mother nurses her child.

852 Within a few weeks after the birth a "doctor" is called to
789 make "medicine" which will make the newly-born infant
151 strong. In Lesu, the doctor for this kind of medicine was the elderly man Tsengali, and this is his medicine. He stands by the *purpura* tree and recites the following spell:—

> Strong, strong, strong, strong.
> Strong head,
> Strong arm,
> Strong breast,
> Strong stomach,
> Strong leg.

The spell contains the wish that each part of the infant's body mentioned become strong. As soon as he has finished his recitation Tsengali takes a small leaf from the tree, chews it, and spits the chewed leaf into a bigger leaf from the same tree, which he folds over it as a cup. Then he pours a little water over the chewed leaf and gives it to the infant to drink. This "medicine" is supposed to have a prophylactic value and prevent the infant from having sores and other ills, and in general to make him a strong child.
[853] There is some idea, which I was not able to understand very clearly, that the mother's milk may become contaminated by the food she eats, and make the infant ill. This "medicine" is supposed to remove any bad effect resulting from impurity in the mother's milk. In discussing this idea, one native who had worked on a white man's plantation told me that a white woman gives her child goat's milk, or tinned milk, to avoid contamination from her own milk. Tsengali is paid two or three strings of *tsera* (shell currency) every time he makes the "medicine."

853 Now that the proper medicine has been made, everyone

is confident that the infant will be healthy, provided, of 853
course, that he be well taken care of, and that his parents
obey the necessary taboos. First, according to the native
ideas, he must be adequately looked after. A mother who 853
does not come and nurse her infant when he cries, if she is
within hearing distance, is most unusual, and was never 538
observed. The only reference to such an attitude was in folktales. There was one about a woman who left her baby on the beach while she went out on the reef to look for a certain kind of seaweed. The child cries out to his mother, "You come and give me milk." But the mother does not come. The infant cries out again, and this time the mother answers that she is busy getting seaweed and cannot come. A large black bird (*potot*) then flies down from a tree and kills the baby. The mother comes ashore and looks for her baby, and at first does not see him. Then she notices the bird running away, and at the same time finds her dead child. She weeps over the child. There is the usual mortuary feast.[1]

The young infant is an object of deep affection, not only 854
to his mother, father, and sisters and brothers, but also to his grandmother, and to all the members of his clan and of the hamlet. It is only for the first few months that his maternal grandmother looks after him rather exclusively while the mother is away in the gardens. As soon as the child is able to toddle about a bit his care is divided among other members of the family. Most frequently it will be the father, and it is quite usual to see the father taking care of the baby while the mother is in the garden, or busy scraping taro. He will sit in the compound in front of the house, or on the beach, with the infant, playing with him, fondling and petting him. There is no differentiation on lines of sex in the display of affectionate tenderness towards the child. The father and

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[1] The motif of this tale and the resulting moral occurred in only one other of the several hundred tales collected. In the other one the husband divorced his wife, who neglected her child.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

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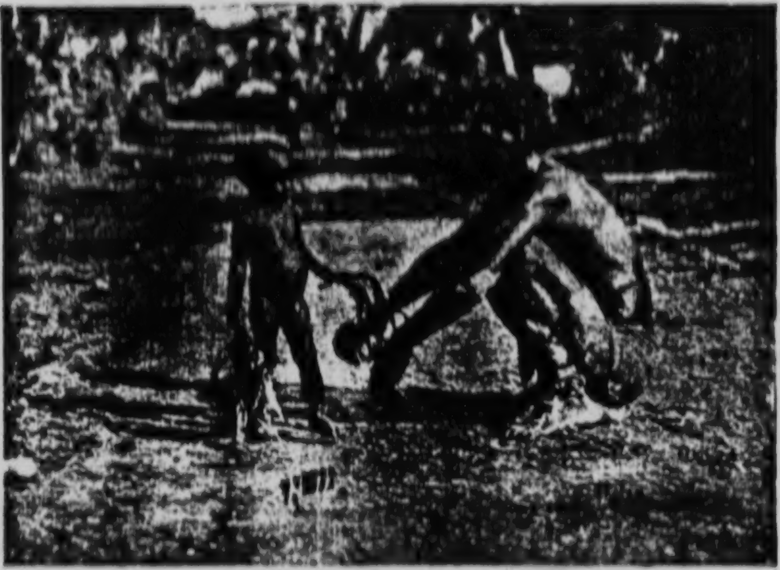

FATHER PLAYING WITH HIS SON

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LITTLE GIRLS PLAYING AT DANCING

[Facing p.70]

854 mother are equally tender towards their child, as are also other male and female relatives. A man plays with his child for hours at a time, talking pure foolishness to the baby. One man was holding an infant who could not yet walk and telling her that by and by she would dance well, and that she would go into the bush and eat fruit from the trees. The reference to the infant's future is made laughingly and affectionately.

But this does not mean that the mother is not also an affectionate parent. As soon as she has returned from her garden she feeds the infant, and then it is her turn to fondle and play with him. When a woman holds a baby she usually balances herself first on one foot and then on the other, making a kind of rocking motion. She does this when she is nursing the child also.

The whole hamlet regards the youngest infant as its pet and plaything. Whenever there are a group of natives together, whether it is the women resting and chatting after their communal cooking, or the men idling on the sand, the child is tossed about from one to the other, fondled, patted, [201] jumped up and down, and kissed (a pressing of the lips to the body with a clucking noise, resembling more an imitation of biting). Or they may croon one of the dance songs 854 to the infant. Lullabies are the songs which accompany the 533 ritual dances. The music and words have been handed down from generation to generation, and the infant hears them from his father, his mother, his grandmother, his aunts, uncles, and all the rest of the family. One woman in the hamlet where I lived was in the habit of lying on her back while her sister's infant, not yet able to walk, stood on her chest. The woman swayed the baby rhythmically as she sang to her.

854 Although the infant is petted and fussed over by the whole community, he is remarkably unspoiled. The child cries when he is hungry and wants his mother's breast, but most

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CARRYING THE BABY AND A LOAD FROM THE GARDEN

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MOTHER NURSING HER BABY

[Facing p. 71]

854 of the time he is smiling and cheerful, and apparently thoroughly enjoying the fuss being made over him.

In the hamlet, Penguli, in the life of which I participated most intimately, the youngest infant, Sapirosch, was about six months old when I arrived. She was quite the centre of interest in the community. There was always someone, adult or child (more frequently an adult), making a fuss over her. Every new gesture was reported and commented on. When the baby recognized me for the first time it was news in the community. Before I left she was just beginning to walk, or rather toddle, and this was an event of great importance and much discussed. She had not yet started to talk, but she was just beginning to make a few sounds which the fond parents (like many parents the world over) insisted were intelligible words. It was reported that she spoke my name, although I never heard her utter anything even faintly resembling it.

855 During the first two years of the child's life there are various important rites—when he receives a name, at the appearance of a first tooth, and at a feast for possible mates, and to celebrate his being strong and healthy. About a month after the baby is born a second birth feast is held. This is the larger one promised by the baby's maternal uncle the day after his birth.[1] About a hundred women of both moieties and from the neighbouring villages arrived at Ambwa very early in the morning, an hour or so after sunrise, carrying their taro. They immediately went to the hamlet of the infant Murri, where they sat down and began to scrape the taro and to prepare it to be baked. Women from one place generally sit together, although there is some mingling of women from different localities. Each woman has brought taro from her own garden, and a large amount from the garden of the infant's mother is also available.

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[1] Murri was born September 7th. The first feast was held September 8th, and the second one, now being described, took place on October 12th,

852 Most of the morning is spent in preparing the taro. The
child's mother is with the other women from Ambwa
working on the taro. The baby is lying on a bed inside the
house, and beside him lies his mother's father, who is patting
him soothingly and affectionately.

The women and little girls old enough to be of assistance
852 are busy scraping the skin from the taro with their shell
252 implement (*tsip*), halving them, sprinkling them with
shredded coconut and water, and then wrapping eight or
ten of them in large leaves, securing the whole bundle by
tying it with a piece of hardy vine. At the same time the
men make the fires, bring in the leaves for the wrapping of
the taro, shred the coconut, prepare a pig, fish, and turtle
to be baked. The busiest of all the men are the infant's
mother's brother, his grandfather, and his father. It is his
mother's brother, or sometimes his maternal grandfather,
who is master of ceremonies.

About noon all the preparations are completed. The
bundles of taro, fish, pig, and turtle have all been put in the
liga, a pile of hot stones serving as a bake oven. There are
four *liga*, one near each group of women who have been
preparing the taro. Many of the women now go in and look
852 at the child. They fondle it, crow over it, and then pass out
of the house and sit down at the place where they had
521 previously been working. Now they take their ease. A few
doze, others chatter. An old woman from Langania tells
how one of her children is very skilful at getting crabs for
her. Another one laughs as she tells how her child, who is
about three or four years old, said he was an old man.
Then they talk a bit about the new baby for whom this
feast is being held; particularly about his good health.
852 While they talk they munch a taro which has been baking
separately on one of the little fires which are always kept
521 burning, apart from the *liga*. One woman has just lifted a
252 taro from the fire, and beats it with a stick (always done to

taro which is not cooked in the bundles), and as she beats 852
she tells how she did not want her son to marry because she 852
thought he was too young, but how he did marry anyway. 521
She appears amused with the incident, and tells it rather as a good story, showing no evidence of chagrin.

After about two hours or so of this lazy conversation, 852
fourteen Ambwa women appear in the open clearing in 535
front of the house where the infant now lies. They are gaily decorated with *kerapo* leaves stuck in their hair and in their armbands (*biuk*). Seven of the women belong to the Eagle moiety and seven to the Hawk, and they now do the *Kanduro* dance. It is a dance done in two-line formation; one line is made up of the Hawk women, and the other of the Eagle women. One Eagle woman (same moiety as the infant) leads the others in. She beats a bamboo pole with a stick and stands in front of the two lines of women and addresses the Hawk women in an angry tone: "You Hawk women have come. Now, we have no women. All the Eagle women have died. We have no Eagle men here either." This, I am told, is not true, and everyone knows it. It is just "talk play," a kind of polite depreciation, and is customary at this rite.

Then follows the dance. Maerabit, from Lesu, as usual 852
plays the part of the jester, and rushes on the scene beating 535
a drum, circles around the dancers, and goes through many 522
absurd antics, maintaining a serious countenance at the same time. The effect is quite droll. She has a real sense of gaiety and rhythm in her movements. The audience greets her antics with loud shouts of appreciative laughter.

When the dance is over another group of women of the 852
Hawk moiety, married to men of the clan to which the 537
infant belongs, come on the scene, each carrying some food utensil. One by one they make a speech about the abilities of their husbands as food providers. One woman holds up a basket, saying: "My husband gets much food at

852 537 feasts. He fills up the basket with the food and gives it to me. Then I eat." Another woman holds up a fishing spear and says: "My husband catches fish with his spear, then he cooks them and I eat." A third woman holds up a knife: "My husband works in the garden with his knife. Now I have planted banana trees. My husband cuts the bananas from the trees. Later I eat them." A fourth woman with no tool says: "My husband does not know how to work. He catches fish, but that is all. I cook them, and then I eat them." A fifth woman speaks: "My husband clears the ground and plants it. He fishes too." These are followed by two longer speeches. One speaks: "I am one person alone. I do not have a brother, and I do not have a mother. If I had a mother and a brother they would help me. But my mother has died, and so also has my brother died. Now if my husband were young he would work in the gardens as he did before, when he was young. In the past he would hunt the bush pig and kill one, and then I would eat pig. But to-day he is old; he sits in the house; now I do not eat pig. Enough, the man is old." After this lament another talks. "Yes, it is true that my husband is a worker. He plants the bananas, and then I cut the bananas from the tree. My husband, he goes fishing, but he does not give me a big fish. I never have the experience of eating big fish. It is always the small fish that are given to me. Now it is true that if I am sick he will plant the taro for me, and so also will he plant the bananas, and bring wood for the fire by the bed to keep me warm while sleeping, and so, too, will he bring me water to drink." This woman gives due credit to her husband for all his virtues, but she seems to have a slight grudge that he does not ever give her a big fish.

852 431 All this time, during the dancing and the speeches, the ten or twelve men present are sitting some distance away. They look on and appear interested, but take no part. But as soon as the women have finished their speeches the

men immediately become busy distributing the food to them. 852
First, the men uncover the *liga*. With spearlike poles they 431
level the pile of hot stones. Each woman knows just where she has put her own bundles of taro. She takes one of them from the *liga* and gives it to a woman of the opposite moiety, usually one who stands in the *Tamangaina*[1] relationship, who immediately gives her a similar bundle of taro. It is a reciprocal exchange.

After this exchange has been effected the other bundles of taro are removed from the *liga*, opened up and put in one pile in the open clearing in front of the house. Bananas are taken off the stem by the men and arranged in another pile, and the bundles of fish, pig, and turtle are also opened. Each woman puts on the ground either her basket or her mat, which form a long row on the ground between the pile of taro and the pile of bananas. The infant's maternal
grandfather then counts a blade of grass for each woman [211
present, putting one blade on each basket and mat to see 802]
if the latter correspond to the number of blades of grass he has, which represent the number of women. This is the method of counting. Then four or five men, the leaders of whom are the infant's mother's brother, Murri, and his maternal grandfather, Lorani, divide the taro, fish, bananas, and pig. In each basket, or on each mat, are put ten baked taro, two pieces of fish, a small piece of pig, and about a dozen bananas. The distribution, which is very careful and equitable, takes some time. The women, in the meantime, are sitting around loafing and taking their ease. When the distribution is over Murri makes a short speech to the effect that the feast was held for the new infant. The women are chattering and pay little attention to the speech. Now each woman takes up her basket or mat with the food and carries it to the place where she had been sitting in the morning

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[1] This is the term used for her brother's daughter (see terms 22, 23, p. 49).

851 when preparing the food. Some of the food has been set
431 aside for the dozen or so men who are present, and they and
the young boys now eat together at a place some distance
from the women. All of the turtle goes to the men, for no
other reason, I was told, than that they like it. It is not
taboo to the women. They, in the meantime, eat some of
the food and put the remainder in the baskets, with the
bundles of taro received from women of the opposite
moiety. Then each woman lifts the heavy basket of food to
[482] her back, if she has a baby puts him on top of the basket,
and trudges home. For those who came from Lesu the
distance is three miles, and they arrive home as the sun is
setting.

553 When the infant is born those wishing to give the child
852 their name indicate their desire, and immediately the child
will be known by the name, or names. But they will not be
considered really his names until after the appropriate feast
and exchange of *tsera* (currency) has been made. This occurs
some time within the first two months after birth. It is a clan
relative—a maternal uncle or aunt or grandmother—
who gives the name.

About two and a half months after the birth feast just
described a naming feast is held for the same infant, at
which about sixty men and boys are present. Unlike most
of the men's feasts, it takes place in the open compound of
the hamlet, and not in the cemetery. The preceding day the
women of Ambwa, assisted by a few from Lesu, cook the
taro. The child's mother contributes the pig. Both the men
—the maternal uncle and maternal grandfather—who give
[431] their names to the infant, have already given one *tsera* (shell
currency) to the child, who (through his mother) has in
return also given each of them one *tsera*. It is the usual
reciprocal exchange. At the feast Kadua, an Ambwa man,
[537] makes a long speech, the gist of which is that this is a
feast for the naming of the child. Kadua is no kin to

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the child, but talks merely because he is considered a 533 good orator.

The next ritual feast for the infant will be upon the 852 appearance of his first tooth. For little Ongus, sometimes known as Ongus the second, so as not to confuse him with big Ongus, the chief, whose name he carries, a feast is held to mark this occasion. The host is Muhi, the baby's maternal grandmother's brother, a classificatory grandfather (*yaya*). He contributes the pig, the bananas, the tobacco, and the betel-nut. Taro is contributed by the mother of the child, and Brakko, Molung, and Pulong, all women of the opposite moiety from that of the infant, and of the same clan as his father. The latter, Peiwas, contributes bananas.

The affair is a rather small one, with only about twenty men and boys present. They are gathered in the compound, which was formerly the burial-ground for the hamlet of Panat, which has so shrunk in size that it now uses the cemetery of the next hamlet, Penguli, for burials. But the feasts of Panat are always held on its former burial-ground. Muhi is the host, and it is he who distributes the tobacco and [276] betel-nut, real luxuries to the men. It is Ongus, the infant's [606] father's mother's brother's son, who makes a short speech when they have almost finished eating. "We have come here because Ongus the second has a tooth. It is a very small feast, and there is not much food. Now we have finished." Only the men eat at this feast, the women, as usual, preparing the taro. I was told that if the child cutting its first tooth is female, the women, and not the men, would eat. As no female infant in my neighbourhood happened to cut her first tooth during my visit on the island, I was unable to observe the procedure.

Another ritual feast which may be held before the first 852 tooth is cut, or a year or two after the teething stage, is that given for the possible mates of the child. The one I witnessed

852 was given for Sapirosch, a female infant of about a year, or a little more, and Linga, a little girl of about three years of age, both of the hamlet of Penguli. It was a joint feast for the two given by their respective parents, and had been postponed because Ladawin, who is a potential and the preferred mate for Sapirosch, has been absent at the distant village of Karu. Sapirosch is the daughter of Ladawin's cross-cousin, which makes her his preferred mate. Whether they marry or not, they call each other by the term for husband and wife, *tumbo* and *malis*. Upon his return to Lesu preparations for the feast, which will be held the next day, are begun. The men of the hamlet go fishing and prepare their catch, and the women bring in taro from their gardens and prepare it to be baked in the *liga*. The next day the feast is held. The men eat in the cemetery. All the Hawk men eat the food prepared by the Eagle women, and they are in some subtle way supposed to be eating with Sapirosch, who is Eagle. Similarly, the Eagle men eat the food prepared by the Hawk women, and are supposed to be eating with Linga, who is Hawk. The feast is not taken too seriously. It is called *oning tsnintset*, literally eat play, i.e. a playful feast. [831] The Hawk men say playfully to Sapirosch, "Why have you not prepared food for us, when you have already shown us your vulva?" The Eagle men say the same to Linga. [582] Theoretically, all the men of the opposite moiety are possible mates for the two little girls, and the feast is held for all of them, but it is particularly for those who stand in the relationship of the preferred mate.

While the men are eating in the cemetery, the women eat more casually on the beach. The Eagle women eat the food prepared by the Hawk women, and *vice versa*.[1]

854 834 It is not only through the performance of the proper rites and by feeding and caring for the infant that the duties of

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[1] I was told that a similar feast was held for the possible mates of a little boy, but none was held during my visit.

the parents towards the infant are fulfilled, but they must 854
also observe certain sexual taboos during this period of 834
infancy, when the mother is nursing her child, which lasts
from two to three years. During this time the mother and
her husband are not supposed to have any sexual relations
with each other, or with anyone else. As if to avoid temptation
(at least with his wife) the man does not sleep in the
same house with her. Usually he sleeps in the men's house.
However, in the case of Sapirosch's parents, the father slept
at home, while the child and her mother slept in the maternal
grandmother's house in the same hamlet. The husband
eats with his wife and is with her during the day, but they
separate at night. It is thought that if the woman indulges
in intercourse during this period her milk would be no
good. When questioned as to why the taboo should apply
to the father, the answer is that if the father comes and lifts
up his child or plays with him after he has had intercourse,
the infant will smell it from his skin, sicken, and perhaps die.
My Lesu friends pointed in proof to one child, who is not
able to walk, although past the walking age. I was told that
it is because his parents "stole" sexual intercourse while the
infant was still being suckled. The same natives point to the
good health of the infants, Sapirosch and Ongus the second,
and say that it is because the parents of these children have
lived in continence. One more sophisticated native who had [186]
been away to work at the white man's capital, and who
knows that it is the custom of a white man and his wife to
have intercourse soon after the birth of their child, regards
the white man's practice as disgusting.

It is interesting to note in this connection that a man and 231
his wife observe the same sexual taboos, although for a much 834
shorter time, when their pigs are giving birth. The owner of
a pregnant pig and his mate are continent when the pig is
expected to give birth, and also for the first month that the
infant pig is being suckled. Should this taboo be broken it

231 834 is thought that the young pig would sicken and die; and pigs are very valuable property.

262 854 The fish taboo which has already been mentioned in connection with pregnancy holds over to this period of infancy. The death of one infant about a month old was attributed to the fact that his father had eaten one of the taboo fish. He was a man formerly from a bush village, and therefore not cognizant of the fish taboos of the coast people. Actually, as far as I could observe, the infant died from an infected sore on the upper part of his leg.

854 834 602 Now, while it is both the parents, but more often certain clan relatives, matrilineal grandparents and uncles and aunts, in particular, who have duties to perform towards the infant, such as making the ritual feasts, taking care of him, etc., it is only the parents who are supposed to observe sexual taboos. A maternal aunt is called by the term mother (*Nangga*), and she has certain duties to perform for her nephew or niece, and a maternal uncle has many responsibilities in the giving of feasts, etc., but sexual taboos are restricted to the real parents.

854 The baby has been born. The women of the opposite moiety have fought playfully. His mother has suckled him. His maternal grandmother has taken care of him. So also has his father looked after him. He has been the affectionate pet of his whole hamlet. His maternal uncle and grandfather have given feasts for him at birth, when he cut his first tooth, and when he received his name. He has been betrothed, although everyone knows this is not to be taken too seriously. A feast has been given by his parents for his possible future mates. And during all this time his parents are supposed to have been sexually continent. The baby is now able to walk and to talk a little, and is approximately about three years old. He has entered childhood.

CHAPTER III

CHILDHOOD

CHILDHOOD is primarily the time of education. How are the ideals and patterns of behaviour of this Melanesian society in Lesu set before the child? In what manner does the child make his transition to adult life? These are among the important problems of education. In discussing childhood, it will occasionally be necessary to differentiate between early and later periods, the former between the end of the suckling period (the age of two and three years) to the age of about six, and the latter from six to puberty. 000

After the nursing period the child is no longer the pet of the whole community, for by this time some other newborn baby, who is being fondled and petted by everyone, probably has taken his place. But while there is a lessening of the affectionate demonstrativeness shown to the infant, the attitude of both the adults and older children is that of careful attention to the young child. It is merely the fondling and petting which are omitted. Children from three to six are rarely left alone. They are either with their parents in the village, or, if the latter are away in the gardens or fishing, they are with their older brothers and sisters, classificatory ones if there are no real ones. Larat, a little girl of about ten, frequently watches over her classificatory son,[1] who is just at the end of his infancy. She holds the little boy as she sings one of the dancing songs. Lamai, a boy of about ten, looks after his younger brother Lisit very well, and is all attention when Lisit cries. 855 [857]

When the parents are in the village the little children follow them about. They are present at all the adult activities—dance rehearsals, rites, communal preparations of food, etc.— 861

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[1] In this case her mother's sister's daughter's son. [p. 81]

861 and thus their education is begun in the observance of those activities, in which they will later participate. Occasionally they carry small, light articles, such as a basket for taro, from the house to the beach for their parents. The world of early childhood is composed of adults and older children, both of whom stand in the role of protectors, and the parents have the additional role of disciplinarians.

It is in this early period, following infancy, that parental discipline begins. If these young children are disobedient, they are spanked. Quite early the youngsters are told to go 863 to their respective places (according to their sex) to defecate. When an infant who cannot walk defecates in public, the faeces are quickly covered with sand. But as soon as the child can walk about by himself he is supposed to go to his proper place. But accidents often happen, and not infrequently the young child urinates on the beach or in front of the house. He appears to have no embarrassment about it, and is interested in his own act, but not in that of another child. If observed by his mother the child is spanked or scolded, or perhaps both.

861 578 Children are early taught to obey the instructions of their parents. Linga, a little girl of about four, was told to throw some leaves left over from the cooking into the sea. She did not do it, and her mother slapped her face. She cried. Later her father, Tukan, took her to a tree where another man threw some of the fruit down to her. She returned, clinging affectionately to her father's hand. It is usual that if one parent quarrels with the child, the other will take the child's part. And this applies not only to parents but to other relatives, and a parent takes his child's side should the latter be chided by another relative. One day a child of about seven was struck by one of his clan relatives because he would not give him betel-nut when requested. The mother was absent when the incident occurred. She and her sister returned and found the child crying, and learning the cause

of the tears, the two women each took a branch of a small 861
tree and fought the man who had struck the child. The other 578
members of the hamlet thought that the man got what he
deserved.

Another time, Bak, a little girl of about ten, took some leaves from Bolut's banana tree, and he scolded her because he thought the destruction of the leaves would weaken his tree. Bak's adopted mother, Brakko, with whom she lived, took her part. Brakko had recently given Bolut some bananas for a feast which he was to hold in the near future. When she heard of the scolding he had given her adopted daughter, she remarked to a group of people, "Ah, yes, he scolds Bak, but why did he take my bananas to his hamlet then?" The remark was promptly carried to Bolut, and he as promptly returned the bananas. Brakko had taken Bak's part by her allusion to Bolut's having accepted a gift from her. Bolut's feelings had been hurt by this allusion, and he vindicated himself by returning the gift. The incident was soon forgotten. In most personal quarrels with his adult relatives the child does not lack a defender. On the other hand, when the children offend the whole community, there is no defence for them. Some youngsters picked unripe fruit from a tree, and all the adults of the hamlet who were present, male and female, scolded the children, who hurriedly ran back to the bush and threw the unripe fruit away.

Just one manner of frightening children was observed. It 861
is done with a leaf called *grippo*, which is linked with ghosts
who are feared by everyone. The leaf is waved in front of 824
the child and an allusion made to ghosts. I was unable to 775
get any further information on it. When observing the children's fear of this leaf, it seemed to me that it was similar to the fear a child in our society will sometimes have of a feather. The use of the leaf in this connection was not very frequent, and the frightening of the children by connecting the leaf with ghosts was half playful.

861 Discipline during the early period of childhood is not very severe. Children are to do as they are told; their duties are light and consist mostly in fetching and carrying small articles for their parents; a spanking is the penalty for disobedience. One child who lived in my hamlet cried more often than the others, though as far as I could observe she was no less obedient than the other children. But her mother had a decidedly quick temper, was irritated more easily than the other women of the hamlet, and had very little self-control. The father was easy-going, and the child frequently ran to him after she had been slapped by her mother. But it does not happen often that an adult's irritation is vented on the child. Respect for the wishes and commands of their elders is also impressed upon the children by their observation of adult behaviour. They see their own parents meeting the wishes of the grandparents, and always it is the oldest people present who are the most important.

PLAY

857 When the children are not bystanders or assistants in some adult activity, they can usually be found on the beach, or playing in the shallow water off the reef. They may be making holes in the sand and forming small balls out of the moist sand, which they throw into the water or up into the air to see how far they will go, or there will be a frolic while they bathe in the sea. Throwing stones at birds they also find amusing. Accompanied by children of about ten, they may go to the bush to look for the *nowno̧wg nuts* (specie of almond), or a small group of children may sit and chatter about what their parents are doing: the mother is planting in the garden, the father is putting a new roof on the house; or conversation may turn to what they have in the house to eat, perhaps the fact that there are plenty of bananas will be commented upon. Climbing trees to get a fresh coconut is another part

of children's play. I observed only one organized game, a 857
warlike one for boys, in which imitation spears were thrown [526]
at a target.

SEXUAL PLAY

Nights when the moon is full are the best playtime for 864
children, as well as for adults. Then the children of both
sexes may be found on the sandy beach playing at ritual
dancing, or imitating adult life in their sexual play, which
consists in the boy and girl standing very close together, the
sexual organs of one touching those of the other, but not
penetrating. It is usually done quite openly, in public, and
the adults smile upon it and regard it as the natural order of
things. This kind of play occurs from the age of about four.
Occasionally a boy and girl will steal away into the bush
for it, which is merely imitating the adult ~~in more~~ detail.
The children have rather full knowledge since they sleep in
the same room with their parents, the house consisting of
only one room, and since all of life is discussed freely in
front of them. Just as the adults of the same moiety may
neither marry nor have any sex relations, so also a boy and
girl of the same moiety may not indulge in sexual play.
If this rule should be broken the children would be lectured,
beaten, and thoroughly shamed.[1] The adults appear to be [828]
well aware of the laws of habit formation, and they take no
chance on letting the children transgress an incest taboo even
in play.

Early childhood is a careless and carefree time. Children 857
are left to amuse themselves as they will, or they simply follow
the adults and look on at their activities. An older brother
or sister, parent, or grandparent, is always present to see
that they come to no harm. As a whole, the children are in
the background. They are given sufficient care to see that
they do not fall into trouble, but they are not the centre of
attention. For the most part they are onlookers and minor

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[1] It did not happen, as far as I know, during my visit.

857 participants in the adult activities. It is in this that much of their education consists.

LATER CHILDHOOD

868 851 As the children grow older and pass into the period of from six years to puberty there is a gradual increase in their participation in the village life and a consequent gain in skill. Girls are kept busier than boys. Quite little girls of four or five years will lay leaves in the sun on the sand and, when they are dry, bring them to their mothers for wrapping the taro. Later on they will help cut off the ends of the taro, and by the time they are about eleven years old they scrape the taro and wrap it in bundles to be baked, just as the adult women do. By the time a girl is ten or so she will be helping her mother with the strenuous work of planting taro in the garden. She will, however, only work about half as long as her mother does. These little girls are thus kept quite busy either helping their mothers or taking care of younger children. The little girls, who are generally in the company of older women, form no age groups, nor is there much pairing off of two girls. In Lesu one older girl of about ten was very frequently with two younger girls, and there was a friendliness between them, but mostly she was there as a protector.

BOYS' LIFE COMPARED WITH GIRLS' LIFE

The life of the little boys, between the ages of six and twelve, varies from these girls of the same age. The boys roam about in groups, playing in a more or less desultory fashion. They watch the adult male activities, but do not participate as actively as the girls do in the women's work. When the men are fishing the boys are present, eagerly watching it all, but they do not participate. No boy has a fishing spear or net, although a girl of his age owns a *tsip*, the shell used to scrape the taro. But the boys assist in the

communal cooking. It is a masculine task to bring in the 868
leaves which are used for wrapping the taro and for covering 857
the *liga,* and in this duty the boys render great assistance.
At the feast, when the men were making plans for some communal
rites, the speaker told the boys to bring in leaves, and
that if they did not they would get nothing to eat. While this
was greeted by laughter on the part of the boys, they later
hastened to bring in the leaves. A boy is seen carrying a load [482]
of leaves bigger than he is, or helping his father clean the
fish. He may also shred a coconut, a masculine task. He
will watch his father and the other men as they prepare a pig
to be baked. A boy of eleven helps his father to clear the bush
ground for a new garden, but this is not work that takes up
much of his time, for new gardens are not made every day.

The boys share with the girls the duties of taking care of their younger sisters and brothers, but even that leaves them more free time than girls. They frequently stroll through the bush, playing in the water, or on the beach, at the same time looking after their little brothers. I never saw a similar group of girls. These boys have access to the men's house and are present at all the masculine rites and feasts, where they receive their share of the food, listen to the speeches, and witness trading transactions. They are quiet on these occasions, obviously enjoying their food and never interrupting or taking any part in the proceedings. Even their seniors, youths and young men, listen respectfully as the old men talk.
The fact that the boys of a village are circumcised together [852
when they are about eight or ten years of age, that they 304
then spend several months excluded from all females, that 561]
after this they sleep in the men's house, must help to set this
pattern of age grouping among them.[1] There is no similar
rite for any group of girls.

Within a group of boys, one often finds a pairing off of two 572
boys and the formation of particular friendships. This occurs 857

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[1] The circumcision rites will be described in the following chapter.

572 most often between a boy of ten or twelve and an older boy
857 of sixteen or seventeen. It is, as far as I could observe, a kind
of hero worship on the part of the younger boy. The two are
companions and friends, walk around arm in arm or hand
in hand, and the younger one acts as a fag to the older,
obeying the orders of the latter. If the two are occupied in
some joint task, such as carrying water, it is the younger who
[482] will carry the heaviest and longest bamboo trunk filled with
water.[1] This division of labour is the rule among all groups
of boys, whether there are pairs of friends within the group
or not. The friendship between two boys of different ages
572 is frequently found between two boys of the same clan.
857 Lagawa, a boy of about ten years, is a member of the *Solema*
574 clan and lives in the hamlet of Ponambatawa, at one end of
593 the village of Lesu. At the other end of the village, in the
hamlet of Penguli, lives Ladawin, a boy in his late teens and
also of the *Solema* clan. Ladawin and Lagawa are very good
friends. One day Lagawa came to Penguli to visit Ladawin
and stayed with him in the men's house. After about a week's
time, Lagawa's father came to take him home. The boy
refused to go and sat on the ground sobbing. Then the
father took him by the hand, but still the boy refused to rise
or move. The father tried to drag him along the ground, but
gave up the attempt. Ladawin and a few members of the
boy's clan stood to one side and said nothing. A few other
men who were there talked kindly to the boy, advising him
to go home, and saying that later he could come for another
visit. But the boy continued to weep and did not move.
Finally, the father walked off without his son. After he had

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[1] Frequently water was carried for me by a whole group of boys, particularly when I needed a large quantity for developing photographs. Each time I noticed that the smaller boys carried the heaviest loads, while the older boys brought the smallest containers. I casually mentioned the matter to one of the older boys, who took the division of tasks quite as a matter of course and did not even think it worth talking about. It was the accepted pattern between younger and older boys.

gone Lagawa stood up, stopped crying, took Ladawin's 572
hand, and together the two boys went to the beach. Lagawa 857
remained at Penguli for over a month, taking part in its
daily life and spending most of his time in Ladawin's com- 574
pany. He appeared very contented. His father did not return 593
again for him and the boy went home a month or so later on
his own initiative.

This incident is of interest from several points of view. First, it shows the friendship between a younger and older boy.[1] Second, it is an interesting example of the limits of a father's authority over his son and of the bonds between clan relatives.

If the orthodox rule of matrilocal residence is not observed, 591
a boy frequently runs away from home to his matrilineal 574
relatives. Under the same circumstances a girl sometimes 593
runs away to the hamlet of her clan relatives. The parents can never compel the children to return. They come back when they feel like it, and this is regarded as normal behaviour for the children. After the incident when Lagawa's father tried to persuade him to come home, there was no discussion by any of the onlookers. When I began to talk about it, they took the attitude that the boy was "within his rights," and that the whole incident was a normal one in daily life.

Another happening throws some light on the parent-child 57
pattern. Pulong is rather fond of gossip and loafing, and at sunset, which is pig feeding time, she is sometimes reluctant to leave my veranda, or some other place, where she has

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[1] Similar pairing off of an older and younger boy was observed among non-clan relatives. There was the friendship of my cook, Sinbanimous, married, and at least in his late teens, and Malalis, a boy of about twelve. Malalis followed Sinbanimous about and they were constant companions. When I left Lesu, Sinbanimous left too, as he and his wife were returning to their own village some distance away. Malalis went with them for a long visit. As I left the island then, I do not know the further development of their friendship.

In the village there were several other such pairs of friends.

593 been chatting enjoyably. Quite frequently her daughter, Batu, a young girl just past puberty, will tell her that it is time to feed the pigs. It must be remembered that in both the incidents just described the children had reached puberty, but, what is more important, they were behaving according to the social pattern. It was Pulong's duty to feed the pigs at this time. It is expected that children will run away from home to the place where their clan relatives live. If the child follows the social pattern, the adult, even though personally inconvenienced, has no authority to make him do otherwise.

Both boys and girls participate in the ritual dancing as 857 soon as they are able to walk. Little girls of six follow 535 behind their mothers at the dance rehearsals, and by the 868 time they are ten or eleven participate in the dances at the rites. The boys participate similarly in the male dances. For several nights after a rite is over, very young children from about four up will be found on the beach dancing in imitation of the adult dances they have recently witnessed. The children have leaves twined around their hair and stuck in their *biuk* (arm band) just as the older dancers.

As the children learn the dances, so also do they learn the 867 rules of kinship behaviour, even though they are not fully enforced until after puberty. Although the parents are both 593 protectors and disciplinarians, it does not mean that there is no affection between them and their children. After a child has passed his suckling period there is not the demonstrativeness of affection between him and his parents, as there was in infancy, but that it exists is evidenced by the care lavished on the child. Sometimes I have even seen the inverse, that is, an attitude of solicitude on the part of a child for his parent. One little girl was very much worried when her father climbed a tree with its trunk slippery and wet from recent rain. Another girl was cast down and worried when her mother was ill.

An affectionate relationship between a child and maternal uncle is also usual. Food and tobacco are frequently given by the mother's brother to his nephews and nieces. The relationship is a friendly, affectionate, gift-giving one. The children may eat with the mother's brother, but they never sleep in his house. They sleep in their parents' house, except the older boys, who use the men's house. The mother's brother is not the disciplinarian. If a scolding or spanking is due it is the duty of one of the parents. The maternal uncle does not even seem to be particularly concerned with his niece's or nephew's conduct. That is their parent's business. When Batu, a young, unmarried girl, stayed away very late one night, it was her parents who sat up and worried because they did not know her whereabouts. Her maternal uncle was fast asleep in his house and did not even know of his niece's absence. Also in minor details, such as defecation, assisting in the daily tasks, it is the parents who both command and discipline. 604 861

There is also a very affectionate relationship between parallel cousins of the opposite sex, such as a girl and her mother's sister's son. An affectionate attitude is shown in public between these two. For instance, one girl who had just reached puberty and her cousin, who was several years older, walked around hand-in-hand, or with arms thrown carelessly around each other, and playfully fondled each other. The same kind of affectionate playfulness exists between grandparents and grandchildren and a maternal uncle and his niece. To the foreign observer it is more noticeable in the behaviour between the cousins mentioned above, probably because of their similarity in age. In this parallel cousin relationship, it must be noted that the two are of the same clan and the kinship term between them is that of brother and sister. One sees much more demonstration of affection between these cousins who call themselves brother and sister than between real brothers 605 602

605 and sisters, between whom a semi-taboo relationship begins
602 at puberty. But although there is no demonstration of affection between them, in childhood real brothers and sisters play together.

The real force of taboo relationships does not make itself
605 felt until after puberty. The most important of these, as has
784 been indicated, are the cross-cousin relationships, that is,
867 between a girl and her mother's brother's son and her father's sister's son. At the same time that the child learns the personal names of other relatives, he learns that personal names in this cross-cousin relationship must never be spoken, and that the term *koko* (the diminutive of *korup*) is used instead. He sees the avoidance between the adults who stand in this relationship, and he, too, avoids his *koko*, although perhaps not quite so actively as do the adults. Thus a child sees his father leave the compound when the maternal grandmother comes to visit them. Since the children spend most of their time on the outskirts of the adult world, they have full opportunity to observe patterns of behaviour between taboo and other relatives, as well as to learn how to scrape taro and handle the fishing-net.

861 Education here is for the most part a subtle process. From
831 infancy, children are bystanders in the adult world. Wherever the adults are gathered, there also are the children, watching them as they perform their tasks, assisting in them within their strength, and listening to the conversations, on which there are no bars because of the presence of children. Obscene stories, scandal, gossip of all kinds, are repeated openly before children of all ages. There is one exception, and this is not a matter of age but of kinship; a mother does not discuss her sexual life before her daughter, whether that daughter be a tot of five or a middle-aged woman. She will talk about her sexual life before other women, and she will discuss another woman's sexual life before her daughter, but not her own *affaires du cœur*. She gives as her reason that she is

ashamed.[1] As far as I could ascertain, I think the same kind of shame exists between a father and his son, but I did not have the opportunity of investigating this matter fully, because I was so much more with the women than with the men in the casual, everyday, gossipy life, which is the time when this type of observation could best be made. 861 831

INSTRUCTION IN FOLK-TALES AND MYTHS

One aspect of the child's education is not so subtle. Definite instruction is given in the telling of folk-tales and myths. Sometimes the children may learn them casually as they sit around the campfires at night with the adults, but to assure the children's real knowledge of this folk literature, there is a period lasting three or four weeks during which the adult males and females tell the children tales at night around the fire. A feast marks the completion of this period for the relation of folk tales. The tales are very much in the nature of Aesop's Fables, in that many of them point a moral. Etiquette, taboos, customs, are all illustrated in these narratives, as is also the punishment for those who break taboos and customs. The best illustrations are some of the tales themselves. The following are a few: 867 538 867 539

> An old woman tells her two grandchildren not to take a certain path. She points to it and says: "This is not a good path. You must not go on it. There are bananas on this path and they are ripe, but you must not eat them." Then she points to another path as the one the children are to take.
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> The next day the old woman sends the two children for some water and again reminds them that they are not to take the taboo path. But the children walk down

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[1] In our own society most parents do not like to discuss their sex interests with their own children. The question of whether this is a universal characteristic between parents and children is for further investigation.

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the taboo path and eat the forbidden bananas. They return to their grandmother and she sees a little of the banana sticking to the corner of their mouths. Then she is very cross, and asks why they have eaten the forbidden bananas. The children, to divert her attention, tell her to look out for a dog. She turns around to look for the dog, which, however, does not exist. While her back is turned the children duck into the water and swim away. They are drowned.

Then the grandmother catches a pig and makes a big feast for the dead grandchildren.

A woman is in the village taking care of her newborn infant. Her husband is away working in the bush garden. A man out fishing in a canoe hears the woman singing to her baby and comes ashore. He comes to her and says, "Ah, you are singing!" She replies that she is singing to her child and that her mother and father and husband are away in the bush garden. The man returns to his canoe and continues to look for sharks. The woman continues singing and the same conversation with the man is repeated. But he ends by telling her to come out in the canoe with him. At first she says "No." But he finally persuades her. She and the baby go out in the canoe and the woman and the man copulate.

They come back and land on the shore of the hamlet, Sapone. All the people of the village look at them and know that they have had intercourse. The woman is very much ashamed.[1] With the child on her back she climbs to the top of a coconut tree, throws herself, the child still on her back, to the ground, and they die. Then a pig is killed and a big feast made for the dead woman and child.

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[1] There is a strong taboo against a woman having sexual intercourse when she is suckling her child.

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A brother and sister are on their way to get water. As they walk through the bush they come to a *ias* tree with fruit on it. The girl climbs up the tree to get some of the fruit, while the boy remains on the ground. She throws the fruit down to him. He looks up and sees her genitalia.

The girl calls out to him to eat the fruit, but he replies that he does not want to eat, but wishes to copulate with her. He begins to sing. The girl asks why he sings and does not eat the fruit. He continues singing. The girl comes down from the tree and they walk to their home, he still singing.

Then they go in the back of the house and have intercourse many times in succession.

Afterward the parents kill the boy, and the girl dies from having copulated so many times in succession. The appropriate mortuary rites are held.

The men and women of Lesu were going in canoes to one of the Tabar islands. In one canoe was a husband and wife, who left their child behind because he had so many sores. As the parents push off the child cries out that he wants to go with them. But the parents answer, "No, you have too many sores. You stay behind." And the canoe pushes off.

The child remains on the beach and a fish named *Tsugelut,* comes up and tells the boy to get a banana leaf and put it on his back. The boy does this and then sits on the fish's back and the fish carries him across the water. The boy calls out, "*Tsel, tsel, tsel.*" ("Hurry up, hurry up, hurry up.") The fish goes quickly and arrives at Tabar before the canoe carrying the parents.

The child is at Tabar before the Lesu people arrive. When they come they see him on the beach and call out to his parents that their child is already there. The

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parents reply that it cannot be their child because they left him at home. Then they look at him, recognize their son, and are very cross. They ask, "Why have you come when you have so many sores?"

After the boy has been at Tabar for a while, the fish who brought him tells him to put on his *kepkep* (breast ornament) and then teaches him a spell to heal the sores. And the sores are healed. Now the boy marries a Tabar girl and the two sit on the back of the fish and return to Lesu.

Upon their return they have a big feast of pigs and taro. During the feast the parents return in their canoe. They ask their son for some of the pig, but he answers, "No, I have no father, no mother, now. Before, you ran away from me because I had sores. Now, to-day, I am all right and you want to eat with me. No, I have no father and mother now." The parents go away.

A husband caught some fish. He wraps them in leaves and puts them in the *liga* to be baked overnight.

That night the woman does not sleep very well. Just before sunrise she gets up. The man is still sleeping. She takes out the fish from the fire and eats them all.

The man rises later, looks for the fish, and finds that they are gone. He is very cross and kills his wife. Then a pig is killed and a big feast is made for her by her clan relatives.

A man goes to look at a breadfruit tree which he says belongs to him. Then his *gas* comes up and says that the tree belongs to him, and they quarrel over its ownership. The man climbs the tree and the *gas* stands below and eats the breadfruit, which fall down. When the man comes down from the tree and discovers this he is angry, and tells his child to run and get his *anis* (dancing

> mask) and to put it on and scare the *gas*. The boy does 867
> this and the *gas* runs down into a hole in the ground. 539
> The man and his son then stick a branch of a tree down the hole and they go back to the village. Later the *gas* comes up from the hole, eats the tree and returns to the bush.

These tales are but samples of the many which are told to 867
the children. Obedience of children to parents, the breaking of the incest taboo, the taboo against intercourse for a woman during the period when she is nursing her child, the revolt of a child, the punishment of the woman who ate her husband's fish, an encounter of a man with his *gas* (or double) are a few of the many themes to which the children listen. And the children know their tales. In recording them, I found that the children could tell them as well as the adults. Thus, although the children learn the pattern of behaviour among adults through observations, it is also impressed upon them by folk-tales and myths. This part of their education is not dependent on the parents, or any other members of the immediate family; it is the village or community which is the school. The children may hear the tales around the fires in their own compound, but they are also sure to hear them once a year at the communal folk-tale telling period.

BETROTHAL CUSTOMS

During this same period of childhood a girl is betrothed. 584
It has already been told how an infant was "marked" or betrothed on the day of her birth by the mother of a boy. But, very frequently, this betrothal is not consummated in marriage. By the time the girl has reached the age of marriage, the boy may already be married and have no desire for another wife; or he may have died, or gone away to work,[1]

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[1] To-day, with boys away working on other islands, and the tendency toward monogamy, this infant betrothal has little chance of consummation.

584 or it may be that another man fancies her and has made the betrothal arrangements.

584 All the little girls of the village are betrothed. If it is not an infant betrothal, another one is arranged later, probably
431 when the girl is five, six, or seven years old, to a boy who is in his teens. The man first broaches the subject to the girl's maternal uncle, who in turn discusses it with her mother; then they talk it over with the rest of their clan relatives. If he is accepted, he makes presents of food, tobacco, betelnut (and to-day the introduced loin-cloths also) to the girl and her clan relatives, and throughout her childhood, or until the marriage takes place. (Should the original betrothal of infancy hold, that man will make the presents.) The presents are given when the betrothal is assured and
[554] informally from then up to marriage. There is no stipulated amount, but the more the man gives, the greater his prestige. The betrothed man also works in the gardens of his future wife's relatives. If they live in the same hamlet, the girl at infrequent intervals gives her betrothed some baked taro, but should he come from another hamlet, she is too shy to take the food to him, so one or both of her parents carry some taro which she has baked to him. A man who stands in the relationship of preferred mate (her mother's father's sister's son) also makes frequent gifts to her, even if she is betrothed to someone else and, as we have noted, the kinship term between these two is that for husband and wife. The girl and her betrothed do not eat together until after the marriage rites, nor is there ever any demonstration of affection between them; instead, there is a shyness and restraint.

584 In the past, I was told, it was customary for the girl to go and live with her intended husband's mother for a period before the marriage. The man, of course, would at that time be sleeping in the men's house. There may have been (although I am not sure) some connection between this procedure and making certain that the girl remained a

virgin until her marriage. The practice is not now continued 584 (I was told it was never very rigorously enforced), and the girl now remains at her parents' home until the marriage rites.

Sometimes, to-day, the young man is absent from the village on another island, or in the white man's capital. Under these conditions he sends presents to her and her relatives, and the marriage takes place when his work time has expired, which may mean that the girl remains unwed for a year or so after she has reached puberty. If the man is in the village, the marriage rites are held just after her first menses. Should the betrothal take place when the girl is older, that is near puberty or past it, the man will first ask her, or find out whether she is willing, then he will go to her clan relatives for permission to marry. This might happen in case of a widow, or *divorcée*, or even in the case of a young unmarried and betrothed girl, should another man fancy her. In the latter case a girl may marry another man, even though betrothed to someone else. The usual rule, however, is for the girl's first marriage to be arranged when she is too young either to object or give her consent. If she did protest, the objections would be heeded, but a child of six is not likely to object to being betrothed, particularly when it means a succession of presents, and when every other little girl of her village is also betrothed to some older man. However, when the time comes for the marriage, there is no compulsion should the girl prefer another man.

Sometimes, too, the initiative is not taken by the man. Bak, a girl of ten, is betrothed to Terapae, a man of about twenty from Tabar, who is now working on a plantation near Kavieng. Bak's adopted mother, Brakko, arranged this betrothal, suggesting it to Terapae's maternal uncle, who in turn talked to Terapae about it. Now he sends frequent gifts to Brakko.

Here is how Tomerae became betrothed the second time.

584 Tomerae is a married man from the bush village of Lenopil. He came to the beach village of Lesu, and while there he was told that another man wanted to marry his wife. Tomerae agreed, and accepted the return of his marriage payment.

Several Lesu people now suggested to him that he marry Pakamus, a young girl who had been betrothed, but whose intended husband had recently choked to death over a fish-bone. To this suggestion Tomerae at first said "No," more from coyness or shyness than from unwillingness. A little later he returned to his bush village, and on the way passed the garden where Pakamus' mother was working. He stopped and cleared some ground for her, to indicate that he was willing to marry her daughter. The mother, however, asked him directly, and he replied "Yes."

He continued to Lenopil, and when he arrived there told his clan relatives that he wanted all his pigs and *tsera*, which they had been holding for him. To questions from his relatives, he replied that he was going to marry a girl from the village of Lesu. They wanted to know what was wrong with the bush girls. He said he did not want any of them and had determined to marry Pakamus from Lesu. So he collected his property, returned to Lesu, and married Pakamus.

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861 We have observed the preparation of the child for adult life; the discipline he undergoes; his gradual knowledge of and participation in adult activities; his play; the beginning of kinship patterns; his instructions in folklore, and, in general, his education. We have noted the age-grouping of boys in play, but no similar grouping of girls.

We find in Lesu no childhood world completely separated from the adult one, nor one with different ideals. Instead we find the children always observers or minor participants of the adult society. As soon as they are able to toddle, the children learn the line of sex division in social life. At all rites, and in social life, the boys are with the men and the little girls with their mothers. A little boy of five accompanies his father to the feast in the cemetery, while his sister remains outside with her mother. They learn their future occupations by first observing and then gradually participating in the activity. They are interested witnesses to trading and other economic transactions, all of which are made in public. They hear the speeches in which reciprocity is the underlying note, observe how the payments are made, and know who has attained the most prestige. They listen to the speeches in which the women extol their husbands as good workers, or shame them for their laziness. Quite early they learn to do as they are told by their parents, and observe in the village life the respect for and the authority of the old men and women. They notice kinship patterns of behaviour among the adults and begin to practise some of them themselves. The incest taboo is impressed upon them even in their play. During all this time they have been surrounded with affection and care from both their parents and their clan relatives. Among the boys special friendships are formed, but these seem to be lacking among the girls.

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Because it is the life they have been observing ever since they have been able to take notice, by the time these children have reached puberty they are well trained for their adult life, which now begins, They have heard the ideals and patterns of adult behaviour set forth in speeches, discussions, gossip, and folk-tales, and they have seen them functioning in life. No other standards or ideals have been set before the child. He has not had held before him one type of behaviour in economic transactions, or some other aspect of life, only to learn later that this is not the actual practice. These Melanesian children receive a realistic type of education.

CHAPTER IV

INITIATION RITES

881 INITIATION rites might well be discussed under the heading of education, but as they form such a complete unit by themselves, they are described separately. An elaborate ritual marks the significant change in the boy's life upon his entrance into adult society. The initiation takes place when the boy is circumcised, but the operation is only one aspect of the ritual. It is the boy's break from home, his entrance into adult male society, which is important for him, for his immediate family, and for the rest of the community.

The initiation rites really consist of two rituals: one accompanies the circumcision and seclusion of the boys, and the other is part of the display of *malanggans*, which always occurs at this time. *Malanggans* are the elaborate carvings connected with mortuary rites, and are the most important ritual objects in the society. While *malanggan* rites may be held separately and unconnected with any other ritual, they always form part of the initiation ceremonies, and it is not possible to separate the two in a description.

NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR HOLDING RITES

The initiation rites performed during my visit covered a period of eight months, which is exclusive of the preliminary events such as the making of magic over the gardens. The actual time to hold the rites is unrelated to any particular time or season, but is determined by such factors as the presence in the village of a number of boys of suitable age to be circumcised, the condition of the gardens, and whether those responsible for the rites have sufficient wealth.

The rites I observed were concerned with the circumcision

of eight boys, ranging in age approximately between nine 881
and eleven. Six of the boys were of the Hawk moiety and two of the Eagle. They all came from that section of Lesu known as Tagam, formerly another village separate from Lesu.[1]

PREPARATIONS

The initial preparations are begun about ten months in [789]
advance, when the garden magician makes taro magic, and the rain magician rain magic, in order to ensure a good crop. At this same time arrangements are made for the purchase of the pigs for the future feast. The men who will display *malanggans* are also busy superintending their carving. These and the dancing-masks are begun four or five months before the rites are held,[2] and the work is done in a secluded place, away from all observation.

The first communal work occurs about a month before the boys are circumcised, and consists of the building of the enclosure in which they will later be secluded. All the men and boys of Lesu and some from the neighbouring villages of Ambwa and Lagania assist in this work. The men from Ambwa reach the hamlet of Penguli (in Lesu) early in the morning, where they are joined by the Lesu
men. They are all in a gay mood. With the *kerapo* leaves[3] [824]
stuck in their hair and in their belts, about fifty of them go to a clearing a short distance from the hamlet of Penguli.
Here they cut down the bamboo trees and then crack the [412]
trunks at the circular rings with their knives,[4] working with enthusiasm and zest. Then, placing the bamboo trunks on their shoulders, they walk down to the beach and along it

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[1] See Chapter I, p. 32.

[2] Making of the *malanggans* described, pp. 211, 212.

[3] The *kerapo* leaf is used decoratively on all ritual occasions.

[4] Knives have been recently introduced. Men who have been away to [177]
work on plantations have them, and they were the most popular gift which I could make.

881 singing, until they come to the hamlet of Ponatlege, where the enclosure is to be built. Ridis, an old man, leads in the singing. When they arrive at Ponatlege the women and girls (about 150 of them) are already sitting on the ground in the open compound preparing the taro to be baked. The men and boys pass by them and proceed to the beach, where they put down their bamboo poles and lay them lengthwise. Ongas, the chief of Lesu, and known for his building skill, is in command of the work. Poles are stuck [417] in the ground as a support for the split bamboo logs, which are laid on top of each other, thus making a fence about 30 feet high for the large enclosure, which is approximately 45 by 100 feet. There is no roof. As they labour the men sing. Young boys watch the work with interest. The name for this enclosure is *nogu*, which is the name for any fence made of split wood.

While the enclosure is constructed the women scrape the taro, laying them on the banana leaves, sprinkle the shredded coconut over it, and bind it all up into a bundle. Some of the men not occupied in building the enclosure make the *liga*, the piles of hot stones. In a few hours' time the taro is all wrapped in bundles and put in the *liga*, which is then completely covered with leaves and sand; the main part of the latter work is done by the men, but the women assist. The men have also prepared a pig, which is being baked in a separate *liga*.

The enclosure has been finished. The men and women sit in the compound or at ease on the beach, chatting. The men are in groups apart from the women. Soon the *kolamuth* [534] (a hollowed tree-trunk used as a drum) is sounded inside the enclosure, and the men wend their way there. Some of [482] them carry on their shoulder poles to which coconuts are tied. The food is removed from the *liga* and other men carry part of it into the enclosure. The women pile the remainder in their baskets. It is early afternoon now and the men eat in the enclosure, while the women trudge home with baskets filled with bundles of baked taro on their backs. Shortly afterward the men too return home, each one carrying on a pole over his shoulder the coconuts which had been given him. The enclosure has been completed; the men who built it have been paid with food; now, in another moon, the first rites will be held. 881 [465]

WOMEN'S DANCES

A few nights later all the women of Lesu begin their dance rehearsals. They practise separately from the women of Tagam. At the first rehearsal they sit in a circle around the fire on the ground in front of Ballock's house. He is the teacher, and sits with his back to them and sings. Gradually they join in the singing. After a while he blows on his conch shell and the women stand up and, still singing, move in circular formation to the left, bending the right knee with each step. Ballock continues sitting with his back to them. At intervals they stop singing, always on a high note, then begin again. After some time they sit down and sing as they did in the beginning. Then they begin to dance again. This continues for about three hours before the women go home. The song accompanying the dance is known to the women, but the dance is new. 881 535

The rehearsals are held nightly, and become more complicated with each repetition, the dance going into various figures, line, square, and circle formations. After the first week or so the rehearsals are not held in front of Ballock's house, but in an open clearing in the hamlet of Penguli. Here every night, after the evening meal is finished (about 8.30), the women gather and dance. The men are not present. On a few nights, after some particularly strenuous days when the women are tired, the rehearsals are omitted. The men, too, have begun their dance rehearsals at

881 another place, and at one feast Ballock urges them to dance
535 well, otherwise he says the women will not like them.

881 Like the dancing, the accompanying music is traditional,
535 but frequently there are variations in the former. Ballock
177 has evidently, as far as I can ascertain, made up the variations on the particular dance he is teaching the women. Sometimes if a boy from another island is in the village, he will teach the natives a dance from his island. One of my servants, though a native of New Ireland, had worked for a long time in the white man's capital, Rabaul, in New Britain, and she taught the Lesu women a dance she had learned there.[1] Frequently boys from different islands, working on one plantation, teach each other their dances. Out of the growing contact between the natives from various islands, it appears that the dance is the cultural trait which is the most easily and frequently diffused.

881 In the meantime the growth of the new moon is watched with interest, for when it is full that will be the time for the rites.

The last two nights preceding the rites the rehearsing is very much in earnest. Just before this they had slackened a bit. At the end of the next to last one, which is held earlier
[437] than the others at dusk, each woman pays Ballock one stick of tobacco for his instruction. Most of them go to bed early, for the morrow will be a strenuous day.

Early in the morning the women, carrying the taro on their backs, start off for the hamlet of Ponatlege. Arriving there are also women from Ambwa, Langania, and the other hamlets of Lesu. About seventy-five or a hundred women are present. Immediately they begin the usual cooking preparations. Most of the men from Tagam are busy bringing in leaves and building the *liga*, but a few old ones sit on the ground doing nothing. At intervals the *kolamuth* is

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[1] The Lesu women asked me if I would teach them a dance from my country. I refrained.

sounded from within the enclosure. While the women sit 881
and chat after the taro is in the *liga*, Macrabit, as usual,
plays the part of the clown. She causes much merriment 881
by taking a fishing-net and walking about with it as if she
were a man. Two other old women play a form of hide-and-seek, 522
hiding behind the trees and walking about in a
creeping fashion. So also do they sit playfully on the legs
and backs of other women. This occurs between women of [616]
different moieties, and resembles on a small scale the playful
fighting of the pregnancy rites. I was told that it is now
done because the boys were to be circumcised soon.

When the food is removed from the *liga*, most of it is left 881
at Ponatlege, although the men eat a small part of it in the
compound in front of the men's house, and some small
bundles are taken home by the women. As they walk home,
single file along the narrow footpath, baskets on their backs,
some of them do their dancing step. There is a general air
of jollification.

Late that afternoon much excitement and a real "before
the ball" atmosphere prevails. The women arrange the [301]
yellow *puhpuh* flower in their hair, put on their best loincloths
and their *kepkeps* (breast ornaments) and *biuks* (armbands).[1]
At sunset there is a final short dance rehearsal
under Ballock's direction. When this is over all the women,
much excited and carrying bundles of the yellow *puhpuh* as
well as having stuck it behind the ear, start off for Ponatlege.
The men set out a bit later. As the women enter the hamlet,
an old man gives each one some white lime which she puts [302]
on her face.

Women and men from Langania and Ambwa are also present. The latter sit in small groups in front of the men's house and out in the compound. The women begin dancing almost immediately, and the men, much interested, watch

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[1] There was also a demand for red crêpe paper and tinsel trimming from me, both of which were twisted around the hair.

88| them. Young men hold burning torches near the dancers so that all can see them. First the women from Ambwa dance, then the women from Lesu, as separate from Tagam; and because these women are more gaily decorated (with the tinsel trimming I have given them) than the others, their dance is considered a great "hit," and they themselves think that they are the best. Then the women from Langania dance, followed by dancing of all the women present, including those of Tagam. This continues all night, groups of women alternating in their dancing. About midnight some of the women and men go home, but those from Tagam and Langania and many of the others remain and dance all night.

When the sky is lighting up and the sun just appearing on the edge of the sea, the eight boys walk in a circle, each with his father, who holds his hand or places it affectionately on his shoulder. One boy walks between his father and mother, who is crying. The boys and men sing as they continue walking in circular formation for perhaps half an hour before they go inside the enclosure. Then the mothers of the boys cry—literally weep, as distinguished from the ritual wailing—and almost immediately they begin to dance, circle formation, singing the accompaniment at the same time. Inside the *kolamuth* is being sounded. After a very short interval (about ten minutes) some of the men run out from the enclosure and instantly there is a spirited fight on between these men and the women (particularly the mothers of the boys). The men vigorously hurl stones at the women, who in turn excitedly throw stones, coconut shells, or anything they can lay their hands on, at the men. At the same time jeering talk is exchanged between them. The air is filled with flying missiles, and some of the women run to near-by houses for shelter. The fight stops as suddenly as it began, the men returning to the enclosure and the women continuing their circular dance. After a short time they pause and rest. The women tell me they weep because 881 they fear the pain being inflicted upon their sons, who are themselves afraid. The women, other than the mothers, say that they are sorry for the mothers whose boys are now being circumcised, and that they dance in sympathy with them.

CIRCUMCISION

In the meantime the boys are being circumcised.[1] One 881 hears no sound from the enclosure, and I was told that a 30 piece of wood is put in the boy's mouth to prevent him from crying out. A father will hold his son steady while another man does the cutting, which is now done with a knife, but in the past with a stone instrument.

By the middle of the morning the men and women of 881 Tagam are busy arranging the food in piles. All the women 881 who danced during the night now return to Ponatlege with 576 empty baskets. They stop and sit down just before they enter. This halt just before entering a place happens very frequently and appears to be an act of courtesy; the guests do not want to arrive before the hosts are ready. When the Tagam people have completed the arrangements of the food, the women enter Ponatlege, where the distribution is to take place.

SPEECHES OF WOMEN

Taro and coconuts are arranged in two piles on the 881 ground. A group of Eagle women—all of them wives of the 537

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[1] While I observed all the rites, I did not go into the enclosure to see the boys being circumcised, nor did I go inside the enclosure at any time while the boys were confined there, although it would have been possible for me to have done so. As the preceding description indicated, there was a decided grouping according to sex and a strained, hostile feeling between the men and the women. As I had been identified rather closely with the women, even to the extent of participating in one of the dances, I thought it would be unwise to swerve suddenly to the masculine group.

88 537 men who are maternal uncles of the boys being circumcised—rush on the scene, carrying knives, fishing-nets, and other implements, and circle around one pile of food, which will later be given to the Eagle boys in the enclosure. Each in turn holds up the implement she carries and makes a speech.

> One, holding up a hatchet: "With this hatchet my husband knows how to work in the garden. My garden has no trees or bushes in it, and I plant the taro. My husband plants the bananas. I cut them down with this hatchet. Now my husband's *tsringi* (her husband's sister's son) goes into the enclosure. I talk true to all you women and to all you men."
>
> Another holds up a plate.[1] "You see this plate. My man goes fishing in the sea and catches many fish. Now I cook the fish in the saucepan, and then I drink it from the plate. Now I talk to all you women and all you men. By and by you will say, 'Ah, she is ashamed.'[2] I do not like to talk any more. My talk is finished."
>
> Another holds up a basket used for catching fish. "My husband takes the basket and goes into the sea. He catches many fish. He brings them home. I eat plenty of fish. I eat bananas, but not so many of them. Now my husband's little *tsringi* has gone into the enclosure. I do not hide anything from all of you. I talk true. I do not like to make a long speech. I have finished."
>
> One, holding up a knife, says: "This knife belongs to the work in the garden. My husband takes the knife and cuts firewood with it. Now I, I am a woman, and am not strong enough to get firewood. I like to

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[1] A few enamelled plates have been introduced by boys who have been away working on plantations. This woman is describing the making of soup, which has also been introduced with saucepans.

[2] The shame is for not talking truly.

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take it easy and not get the firewood. Now I talk true to all you women and to all you men. I talk because my husband's *tsringi* has gone into the enclosure. My speech is finished."

Another, holding up the blackened bones of a fish, states: "I am a woman and I like to eat fish. Suppose my husband likes to sleep, I say to him, 'You go out to the sea and catch some fish for me.' Suppose he is lazy. I talk strong, 'Ah, go catch fish in the big sea.' Suppose he is afraid because it is dark I talk stronger, 'You go, catch fish!' Now he goes. To day my husband's *tsringi* has gone into the enclosure. I have talked true."

These women now withdraw. Up dance a group of Hawk women, who stand around the other pile of food, which will later be given to the Hawk boys who are within the enclosure. They in turn also hold up implements and make speeches.

Says one, holding up a spear: "My husband, he takes this spear and then with his dog goes into the bush. He catches a pig with the spear. Then all the men cook the pig. My husband brings part of the pig to me and I eat it. Now all you women, all you men, look at this spear. It is to catch pigs. I talk true. My husband's *tsringi* has gone into the enclosure."

Holding up a basket, another says: "I want all you women and all you men to look at this basket. My husband, he eats at the feast in the cemetery. Then he puts taro in the basket and comes home with it and I eat. Suppose he takes a walk, he is given taro and puts it in the basket, and when he comes home we both eat. Now I want to talk true. My husband's *tsringi* has gone into the enclosure. I want to talk true. Now I have finished."

Another says, holding up a knife: "Look at this knife. I am a woman. My husband is lazy. He does not know

881 537 how to work. He is a man who does nothing. I do not know how to make speeches. That's all. My husband's *tsringi* has gone into the enclosure. I want to talk true. My husband, he strolls about; he does not work."

Laughter follows this speech, and I am told that the lazy husband has been shamed.

One, holding a banana stalk, says: "All of you look at this which holds bananas. My husband knows much about planting bananas. He plants them; later he picks and brings them into the house. Then when they are ripe I eat them. Now my husband's *tsringi* has gone into the enclosure. Now I have talked true."

Says one, holding up a piece of rope: "My husband used to catch fish and put them along this rope. But to-day he is old, and he no longer catches fish. So I, a woman, no longer eat fish now. I have finished talking. My husband's *tsringi* has gone into the enclosure. Now I talk true."

A few other speeches of a similar nature follow.

DISTRIBUTION OF CURRENCY AND FOOD

881 When the women have finished speaking and retired into the crowd, an old man, Lungow, of the Eagle moiety, stands up and holds out a branch of betel-nuts from which hang eight pieces of *tsera* (currency). This *tsera* was contributed by the mothers of the Eagle boys who are in the enclosure. First the old man sings[1] over it and then addresses the crowd. "Look at this *tsera*. This place (Ponatlege) has few men, and this *tsera* is enough for three men (only three men live in Ponatlege). Now all of you look at the betel-nut and the *tsera*. It is only a little for three men. All you men and

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[1] This is a kind of ditty refrain occurring in the Tsenabonpil myth. I am unable to translate the song, the words of which are in an obsolete language.

all you women have come up to Ponatlege; it is a new feast, the first one to be made at Ponatlege. To-day we make a feast. All of you look at the *tsera* and the betel-nut. Enough! One Hawk man, you take the *tsera*."

Buibui, a member of the Hawk moiety, walks up to Lungow and takes the *tsera* and betel-nut from him. It is distributed among the clan relatives of the Hawk boys being initiated—maternal uncle, maternal grandfather, mother, maternal nephew and niece. The father receives none.

Now up steps Sola, an important old man of the Hawk moiety. He also holds a stalk of betel-nuts with eight pieces of *tsera* hanging from it. He speaks: "You men and you women, all of us come to-day to Ponatlege where all the little boys are going into the enclosure. Now all of you look at this *tsera* and betel-nut, which I pay back to the Eagle people. I do not like to make a long speech. I have talked enough." Sola then hands over the *tsera* and betel-nuts to a man of the Eagle moiety, who gives it to the clan relatives of the Eagle boys who are in the enclosure.

Lungam then stands by a pile of taro and talks again.[1] "All you women of Ponatlege, Ponambwa, Simbelmalum, Ponemebatawa (all hamlets of Tagam) distribute the taro to all the women. Do not forget one woman nor one child. There is enough food for all. Last night all of them came and danced, and so you now give them food in return. When you have finished, we men will eat in the enclosure."

Now comes the distribution of the food by the people of Ponatlege, the parents of the newly initiated boys being particularly active. It is uncooked food, yams, taro, and coconuts, contributed by the women of Tagam—mostly by the mothers of the boys being circumcised—and is given

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[1] Lungam and Sola are the speakers because they are important old men of their clans in Tagam and because they are good talkers. Oratorical ability, or lack of it, is readily recognized.

881 to the other women in payment for their dancing the previous night. They pile it in their baskets and trudge home heavily laden. These women had brought taro the day before and baked it, and this remains at Ponatlege. The men go into the enclosure and eat pig and taro.[1]

The boys now remain in the enclosure for a few weeks. In the past they remained longer, but now after a few weeks they are sent to the Catholic Mission for instruction.[2] While they are in the enclosure the older men talk to them about fishing, hunting wild pig, etc.[3] No women are allowed in the enclosure, and they do not see the boys until they later ritually return to the society.

FOLK-TALES CONCERNING INITIATION

881 538 The attitude and part played by the women when the boys go in to be circumcised is brought out rather clearly in folk-tales which deal with this subject. One is a tale of a mother who tried to keep her boy from being circumcised. The boys of the village were to be circumcised, and it was preceded by the usual ritual dancing of the women. Then, when the boys entered the enclosure the women cried and there was a fight between them and the men, as in the scene at Ponatlege just described. The mother of one of the boys ran away because she was afraid, then came back and tried to get her boy. The men prevented this and took the boy away. But she pursued the man who was carrying off her boy. The men turned and saw her, and then they killed

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[1] The day after the feast I inquired about the food supply at Ponatlege. Although they had given away much food there was still plenty remaining for ordinary meals. They do not have these rites unless they have a large supply of food.

[2] The Catholic Mission has very cleverly availed itself of this period for instruction.

[3] My information on the instruction given is not very complete. As already stated, I did not go into the place where the boys were secluded, and during this initiation period was mostly with the women.

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both her and the boy and ate them. In the meantime the woman's clan relatives waited for her to come home. When she did not return and they learned what had happened, they killed a pig and made a big mortuary feast.

Another is a tale of a woman who wanted to look at a boy while he was in the enclosure. This young boy was in the enclosure during the period of seclusion which follows the circumcision. The wife of his maternal uncle came back from the garden with taro, which she put in the house and then purposely made the fire die. She wanted to look at the boy, and so she called out to him that her fire was dead and that he should bring her some fire (a smouldering log). The boy did this, and then returned to the enclosure. A little while later the woman put out her fire again, and called to the boy to bring out some fire. He did so and again returned to the enclosure. A third time the woman called out for some fire, and now the boy was very cross and cried out: "You call for fire all the time. I gave you fire before. Why do you make it die?" He was very angry, and putting his *biuk* on his arm, his *kepkep* on his breast, and some birds' feathers in his hair, he beat the *kolamuth* (hollowed tree-trunk used as a drum) and then put fire inside of it. He stood beside the burning *kolamuth* and sang a ditty for his *Tata* (maternal uncle) to come. The fire reached up and burned his legs as far as his knees. The boy sang his ditty again. The fire reached up higher. Now it was up to his waist. He kept on singing. Now the fire reached his breast. He continued singing. His *Tata* in the bush heard the boy crying out and asked himself, "Why is the boy calling? Someone must have made him cross." The boy cried out again, and the fire was now up to his neck. His *Tata* began running through the bush. By this time the fire was up to the boy's eyes. He still sang. The *Tata* rushed up and went immediately into the enclosure, but the boy had been completely burned up. The *Tata* asked his wife what it was all about;

881 538 and she said that she just wanted some fire. But he saw into the real reason, which was that the woman liked the boy. He killed her, and then her clan relatives held fast a pig and made a big mortuary feast.[1]

There is another tale of boys being decoyed from their enclosure. Two boys left the enclosure where they were secluded to get some water. On the beach they saw a *kuwiwi* bird, which they tried to catch. The bird eluded them, running along the beach from hamlet to hamlet. The boys followed, always trying to catch the bird but not succeeding. Finally they came to a place where two women, who sent the bird as a decoy, awaited them. The women embraced them and had intercourse with them.[2]

The boys fought and broke away from the women finally and ran back to the enclosure. There they set fire to the *kolamuth*, stepped into the flames, and burned themselves to death. They sang as the flames crept higher and higher. The people in the bush garden heard the singing and came back to the village. They wanted to pull the boys out of the fire, but it was too late. They had been burned to death. The pigs were killed and a big feast made.

These tales reinforce what the rites indicate, namely, the jealous attitude of the women on the seclusion of the boys and the fact that there is a real cleavage between the mothers and the boys at this time. They also indicate a sexual desire of some of the women for the young boys.

MALANGGAN RITES

881 778 After these initial rites concerned with the boys entering the enclosure for circumcision, the *malanggans* begin to come

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[1] This motif of crying out as the flames creep higher and higher, and the return of the people from the bush just too late, is a very common one through many tales.

[2] The folk-tale is not exactly clear as to whether the women just attempted to have coitus, or whether they succeeded.

to the foreground. Several *malanggans* are being made; 881
they have the names of Walik, Kolebmur, Muhdae, Lysisi.[1] 118

Three days after the boys are secluded the men build a small house of leaves within the enclosure, which will later hold the *malanggans*. They work all the morning building the little house, and in the afternoon eat inside the enclosure. Takou has contributed the pig for the feast. Lungow, an important old man of Takou's clan, and a classificatory brother makes a short speech over the pig before it is cut up, to the effect that this pig is to celebrate the completion of the house which will hold the *malanggans* and to pay the men who have built it. Then the pig and taro are distributed, after which Takou makes a speech. He is not a good orator, and he speaks haltingly. "I want to make the rites for the *malanggan*. By and by the women will dance and the men will dance for the *malanggan*. I want to make a big feast for them." Everyone now eats, and some of the pig and taro are taken to the inner enclosure, where the boys are secluded. Part of the taro, but none of the pig, is taken to the women outside.

From now on, every afternoon just before sunset, the men rehearse their dances. The women, who are no longer rehearsing, do not go anywhere near the place where the men practise during the three weeks which elapse before it is time for the boys to come out from the enclosure. In talking about it the natives remark that now is the time when the women will look at the boys. The day before there are the usual communal cooking preparations at Ponatlege. All the women of the village are there, scraping the taro, and the men are busy preparing the pigs, building the *liga*, etc.

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[1] Each *malanggan* has a name. Mekeo, father of one of the boys being circumcised, makes the Walik one. Mekeo's son, Liputai, is also making one paid for by *tsera* given him by his father. Lusera, father of two of the boys, is making another. A maternal uncle of one of the boys makes another. [552]

881 778 Early in the morning, on the day of the rites, the *kolamuth* is sounded at Ponatlege. The men go into the enclosure and look at the unpainted *malanggans* which have been placed in the little grass house. In about fifteen minutes they emerge into the open compound. This is just the preliminary appearance of the *malanggan*, because the boys are coming out of the enclosure to-day.[1]

[535] [302] In the open compound the men and women sit in their separate groups, chatting. There is a general air of expectancy. Soon singing is heard in the distance. It comes closer. The women get up and go inside the open cook-house, and most of the men go inside the enclosure, although a few remain outside in the compound. The eight boys, accompanied by twenty men (from Tagam), advance into the compound in block formation of five lines, singing. This is called the *Bumän* dance. The hair of the boys is painted red, and each one carries a bundle of baked taro and a piece of pig's entrails wrapped in leaves. They halt and stop singing. Takou, the father of two of the boys and the maker of one of the *malaggans* to be displayed, then steps out and speaks. "All of you have come because of these boys. Now this *Bumän* rite is done in Ponatlege. My mother knew this *Bumän* in Penguli where she lived. To-day the *Bumän* is done in Ponatlege. Suppose my mother had not known the *Bumän*, then I, Takou, could not know it. I talk to all you men and to all you women. I have talked enough. Suppose you have a big man; he will talk much more to you. But I am a little boy.[2] All of you, all the men, all the women, all the Luluai (chiefs), all of us have come here for this little *malanggan*. That's all. Suppose it is big *malanggan* rite, then there would be a big speech. But Ponatlege is a new place,

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[797] [1] When they come out they will go to the Mission school. In the past they would have stayed within the enclosure until the finished *malanggans* were displayed. Now when they come out the unpainted *malanggans* are shown.

[2] The speaker is a large, adult man, but the custom is to belittle oneself.

and Mekeo and I are making these rites for the first time. 881
All of you from Langania, all of you from Lesu, all of you 778
from Ambwa, and two men from Laummasong have come.
All of us have come at one time. There are many men here.
When the *malanggan* is finished all of you will go back. We
do not have many men at Ponatlege, three men and three
women, that is all. I want to finish my speech. I do not like
to make long speeches. I have finished." Now eight women [604]
who stand in the relation of father's sister to the boys
(*Tomangaina*) walk up to them. The boys give them the taro
and the pig's entrails, and each woman gives her *Tomangaina*
a little tobacco and a half *tsera*. The mothers of the
boys gave them the taro and pig's entrails which they have
just handed to their *Tomangaina*. The latter now step back
into the crowd.[1] The boys and men then dance, in silence.
They turn, kneel slightly, turn about again, and this turn
and kneeling motion is repeated six or seven times. Each 881
man carries a stalk of the long grass, *Lil*, in his hand, and 778
on their last turn he hurls his *Lil* in front of him as if it were 824
a spear. This *Lil*[2] is supposed to be dangerous, and that is
the reason most of the men and women ran for shelter
when the dance was begun, and why those who did remain
outside were careful to be out of reach of the shafts of this
grass. It is believed that if it touches the skin sores will
appear.

> Sola, an important old man of the Sinimanbul clan, 881
> and the one owning the *Walik malanggan* now on dis- 778
> play, stands up and talks. "Before, when I was a little
> boy, I lived in Tabar. I saw this *malanggan* there. Later 537
> I came to Lesu, but before I left Tabar I paid *tsera* to

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[1] It is of interest to note that this is the first time in the rites that relatives on the paternal side have taken an active part, and that these women are of the same moiety as the future mates of the boys.

[2] The *Lil* is a species of *Graminae imperata*.

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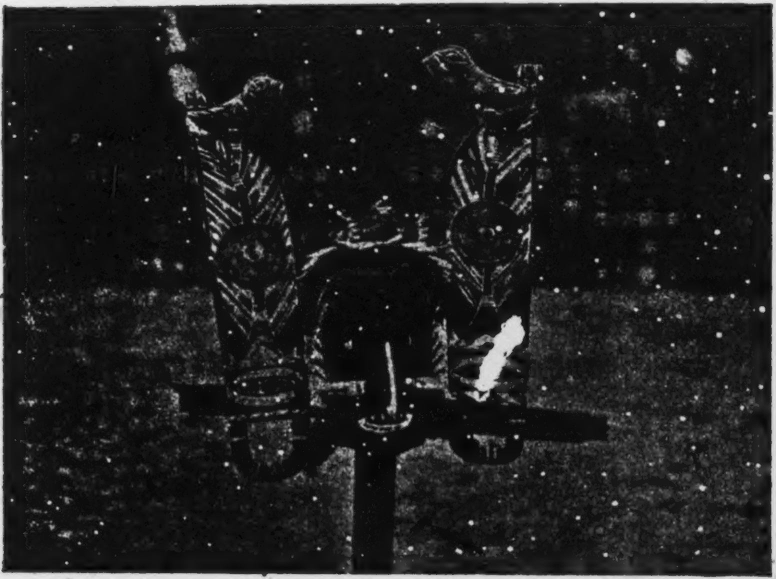
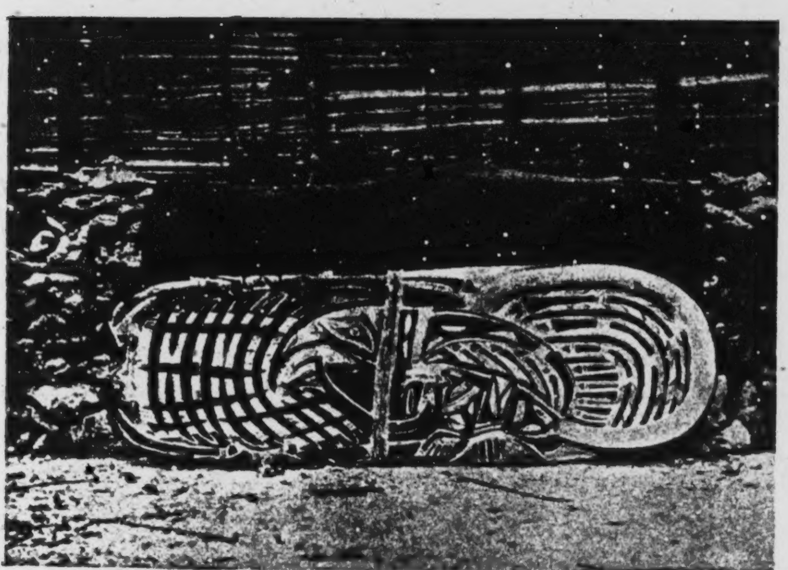


DANCING MASK



MALANGGAN

[facing p. 120]

881 778 537 my clan relatives to learn about this *malanggan*. Now I live in the hamlet of Simbelmalum. Now I have made[1] the *malanggan* and have brought it to Ponatlege. It is not good that later you will say, Sola he lied. No, it is true, I learned about this *malanggan* from my clan relatives. Mekeo wants this *malanggan*, and so I have given it to him. All of you men from Lesu, Ambwa, and Langania have another kind of *malanggan*. Mine is different from yours. That "bed" on which the two pigs are resting is the custom in Tabar. It is different from the kind of "bed" you make here. I cannot make a long speech. I am an old man. I have finished talking."

Now the men and the boys go inside the enclosure, where they sit on the ground around the walls facing the unpainted *malanggans*. The two roasted pigs are in front of it. Two men[2] stand up behind the *malanggan*, so that they are only visible from the waist up. One has a bird's beak in his mouth and a brightly coloured bird's tail in his hair. The other has a crown of feathers and also a beak in his mouth. Both men are wearing their *kepkep* (breast ornament). Their hands are clasped in back. They sway from right to left rhythmically. The men and boys who were doing the *Bumän* dance outside now continue with the same dance, and are led by the two swaying men. The boys drop out of the dance and sit down by the walls on each side of the enclosure. The men continue dancing and begin to sing also. The dance stops and they all sit down. 88 778 Then Lungow (a member of the same moiety, but not of the same clan), who has been beating the *kolamuth*, speaks: "You see this, *Kanda* (the stick with which he beats

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[1] That is, he taught the carver how to make it.

[2] One of these two men is Mekeo, father of one of the boys. The other is a member of his clan. They perform their role in the dance because they know it, rather than because of their kinship to the boys.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

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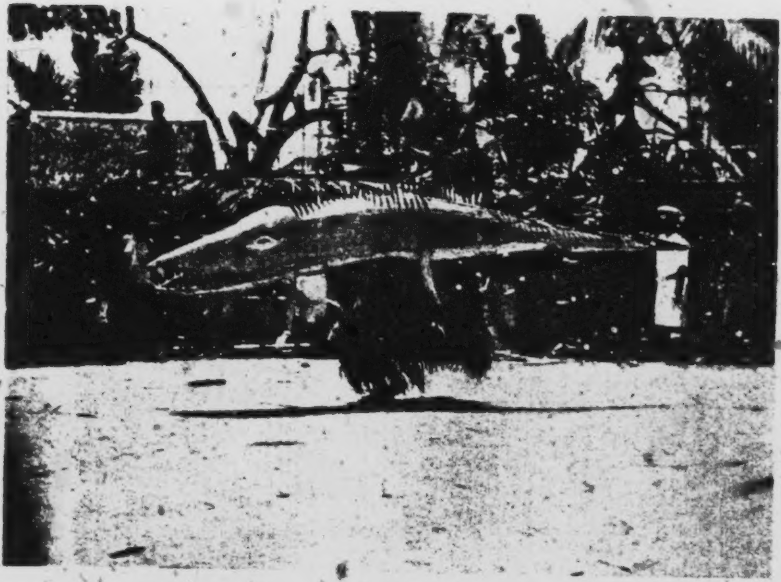

CROCODILE FIGURE IN DANCE

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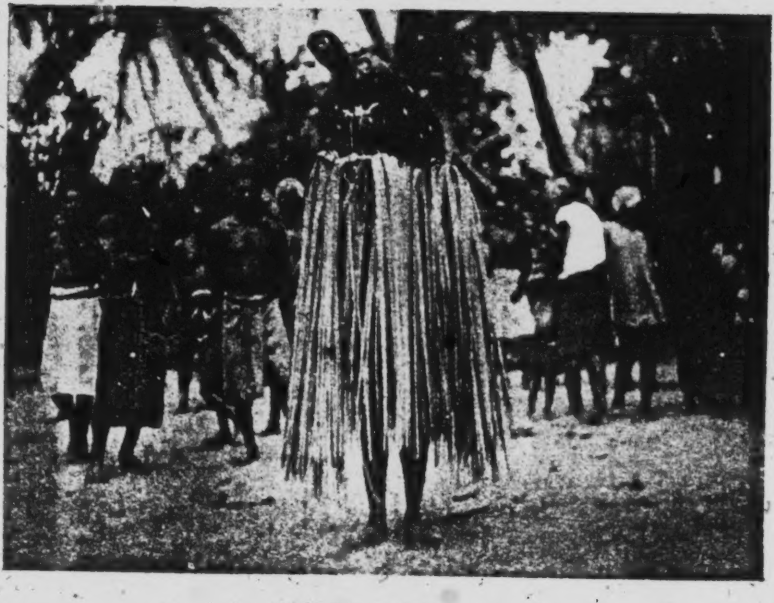

PIG DANCE

[Facing p. 12]

881 778 the *kolamuth*). When I was a little boy my grandfather gave it to me, and now I use it well. It is not good that you say, 'Who gave it to him?' Now you know; it was my grandfather who gave it to me." He sits down.

[302] Now four men come in, faces smeared with white lime, hair decorated with leaves, and carrying leaves and a shell rattle in their hands.[1] Silently they dance up to the *malanggan*. One hurls a stick, as if it were a spear, at the round enclosure in the centre of the *Kolebmur malanggan*, which represents a door and is called by that name, *mut*. When the stick hits it a plank behind falls down, leaving an opening. The stick is laid in the centre of the enclosure before the *malanggan*. The four men now sit down in front of the *malanggan* and sing. When they stop Lungow picks up a betel-nut from the ground in front of the *malanggan* and says, "This betel-nut belongs to the *Walik malanggan*." Picking up the betel-nut is a signal that the dancing is over and that the feasting will begin. If anyone should rise before this signal it is thought that some disaster would befall him; he might fall from a tree.

[262] Two young men bring in a baked pig and place it on the ground beside the *malanggan*. Two large bundles of baked taro and another pig are already there, and two other pigs are on top of the *malanggan*. All the pigs have been contributed by Sola, Mekeo, Lungow, and Lumaeris, the owners of the *malanggans*. Sola stands up, holding in his hands [293] the bird's beak (*Notinamaen*), the black wooden rattle containing pigs' teeth (*Tumba*), the headdress of feathers (*Bilut*), all used by the two men who had been swaying back of the 881 778 537 *malanggan*. He says: "You see the *kanda* (stick thrown at the *malanggan*), the *notinamaen*, the *bilut*, the *tumba*. Now if I,

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[1] These men are of different clans and moieties, but the one who hurls the stick is of the same clan as the man who is displaying the *malanggan*. The former says that his clan relatives taught him how to "shoot the door."

881 Sola, should die, then a younger man will talk as I do.
778 Suppose someone should ask who taught him. He will answer
537 that Sola has taught him. I have finished speaking." Each of the eight boys being circumcised walks over in turn to where Sola sits and puts some tobacco and *tsera* at his feet.

Then Lowni, owner of the *Kolebmur malanggan* being displayed, and who has sold it to Orlok, stands up and repeats in regard to his *malanggan* what Sola has just said. The eight boys now put tobacco and *tsera* at Lowni's feet.

Towni, owner of another *Walik malanggan*, being displayed, talks: "Before, when I was a little boy, I worked on a plantation and I did not know this *malanggan*. Then I learned about it from my *Tata* (maternal uncle). Now I have made it and give it to Pungoli, my *tsiringi* (maternal nephew)." The latter is one of the eight boys, and now gives *tsera* and tobacco to Towni.

Then the men contributing the pigs make the payments for them publicly, holding the *tsera* up in full view and announcing to whom and for what are they paying it, and then Sola makes a speech over the two pigs resting on top of the *malanggans*. He says: "All of you look at these two pigs. They have been sleeping on this bed on top of the *malanggans*, and therefore they are taboo. We will eat them here in the enclosure and finish eating them here. These other two pigs on the ground, we will eat half here and the remaining half will be taken out to the women. But these two pigs which have been on top of the *malanggan*, they must not be taken out to the women. I have finished talking."
[784] The *malanggans* are taboo to the women, who may not look at them. The pigs, evidently from their proximity to the *malanggans*, have also become taboo to the women.

881 Towni stands on top of the two taboo pigs and cuts them
778 up. Two men act as waiters and distribute plates of leaves
264 to all those present. The same ten men now advance as a unit, pick up taro, stand in front of the plates with it, and

when Sola gives a hiss as a signal, place it on the plates. 881
The men return to the big pile of taro, pick up some more, 778
advance in a body to the plates, and wait for the signal
which is given this time by Towni. He says, "*Arurini la* 264
pulla" ("put them down"). And this is repeated each time a portion of the food is put on the plates. When the food has been distributed, each plate contains about ten baked taro, fifteen bananas, and a couple of large pieces of pig, about 5 lb. perhaps. This portion is for three men, all of whom sit around one plate. As soon as all the food is distributed, Sola and Takou walk the length of the enclosure and back again, each one holding a small bone (rib of the pig). They are silent, and so too is everyone else. With a rather dramatic gesture they throw the bones away. This is the signal for everyone to begin eating. After they have eaten for a little while, Sola advances, bird's beak in his mouth and rattle in his hand, and dances up and down the centre of the enclosure. All the men cry in chorus, "Walik Ah!" The only explanation is that it is one of the customs peculiar to the *Walik malanggan*.

The pig lying on the ground is now cut up, and Sola talks over it: "This pig has been cut, now distribute it; half will go to the women outside." The pig is then distributed on the plates. Finally the men finish eating, and then they wash their hands in the sea, put the remains of the food in the basket, which they take out to the women. Some of the taboo pig was not eaten, but it remains inside the enclosure.

The initial rites held for the boys coming out of the 881
enclosure, and for the first showing of the *malanggan*, are 779
finished for the present, and will be continued about six 535
weeks later, when the completed painted *malanggans* are displayed. During this interval all the men of Lesu rehearse their dances every evening just before sunset. Those men who are not in the dance watch the others, but no woman

881 sees them. The women of Tagam, but not those of Lesu, also
778 practise their dances daily.

535 The week before the big rites is one of intensive preparation. There are the final dance rehearsals. Bananas are carried on poles to Ponatlege to be buried in the sand there. The *malanggans* are receiving their final coats of paint, and the dancing masks, *anis*, are being finished. This work is being done in the men's house, where it is taboo for women to come. The impending rites are the main subject of conversation, and there is a general air of expectancy.

Two days before the rites the women go to the gardens and bring in the taro which they carry to Ponatlege, where they begin the communal cooking. The *malanggans* are finished and covered with leaves. They are carried from the hamlet of Ponbumbu,[1] where they were made, to the enclosure at Ponatlege. When they have been placed within the little grass house the men eat within the enclosure. Taro, fish, and bananas is their feast.

On the late afternoon of the same day a dress rehearsal of the masked dance, *tselanith anis*, is held. The rehearsals up to now have been held in the compound of the men's house at Ponbumbu. But to-day the women are invited to witness a rehearsal held in the open compound. The men are very proud of their masks, and say quite frankly that they want the women to see them. It is obviously a vaunting display in front of the women. They arrive and, sitting on the ground in the open compound, wait for about an hour before the rehearsal begins. Snatches of singing and occasional blowing of the conch shell are heard from the men's house. The men beat the *kolamuth*, and finally the dancers emerge. After it is over the women go home. That night the men again practise within the enclosure of the men's house, more because they are excited about it than because there is any need for repetition.

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[1] The carver lives in this hamlet.

The next day the cooking preparations proceed in earnest. 881 Over a hundred women gather at Ponatlege and the 778 adjoining hamlet to prepare the taro. The men are busy 535 wrapping the fish in leaves and tending to the *liga*. The only idlers are a few old men, some of whom sit and play with the babies, while others are chatting in the men's house. The food is left on the *liga* overnight, and the next day sees the climax of the *malanggan* rites.

By the middle of the morning all the people of Lesu, [574 Ambwa, and Langania, and many from the more distant villages of Libba and Tandis, and even a few from Fakmalak 484] and Laummasong, both of different language groups, arrive at Ponatlege. Five or six hundred people are present. The men and women sit around in a large open space in the centre of the hamlet left free for dancing. The men sit on the side nearest the enclosure and the men's house, while the women are on the other side; even quite young children observe this distinction. On the side where the women sit a small temporary booth is erected to hold baked taro and bananas. This is for the women who, if they are hungry between dances, go in and eat. The men do not eat any of this food, but wait until the rites are over for the day. Everyone is anxious for the dancing to begin.

In come the first group of dancers, who are from Lesu. Each man wears an elaborate mask, a grass or rather leaf [292] petticoat, and a red shirt. In the past, instead of the red shirt, which he now buys especially for this occasion from [439 the trade store on a near-by plantation, he painted his body 302] red from the waist up so that his identity might remain concealed. As each dancer enters, an old man blows from his [789] hand some powdered lime, *lest*, in front of the performer, to make him dance well. The dancers enter in couples, except the first man who acts as a leader, escorting in each pair of dancers. When all have appeared, they dance together in circle and line formation. The dance is a very strenuous

881 one, and the hot masks and tight shirts add to the dis-
778 comfort of the participants. Only the youngest and strongest
535 men take part, and they are exhausted when it is over.

After a short interval, fourteen men from Langania enter and do a very similar dance. The masks, costumes, and music are identical, but there is a slight variation in the steps and form.

Following them, thirty men from Libba without masks dance. Their dance is one of elaborate figures and intricate abstract formation, with no apparent meaning. No native interpretation of the figures and no conscious symbolism was attached to this dance.

In the interval following these three dances some of the Ponatlege women distribute a few taro and bananas to the other women, who eat them.

[532] In the next dance the men from the village of Tandis have masks very cleverly representing owl heads (*dudul*). The entire body of each dancer is covered with leaves. The dance is in two-line formation, and one line is supposed to represent men and the other their ghosts. It was taught to the Tandis men by a man from the Kockopo district of New Hanover, now working on a plantation at Tandis.

In the next dance sixteen men wearing masks and costumes similar to the ones in the first dance form two lines, one of which sits on the ground and represents a snake who wants to eat the men in the other line, who stand and wave sticks representing spears. In the dance the men fight the "snake" with their spear and kill "it." All these movements form part of the dance, and though not too obvious are performed with sufficient realism to convey the idea.

There is one more dance, an intricate, abstract figure, by the men of Laummasong.

By now it is late afternoon, and the dancing is over for the day; the rites will be continued the next day. The men enter the men's house to eat,

Early the next morning everyone again assembles at 881
Ponatlege. First comes the distribution of food. The women 778
of Tagam (Ponatlege and neighbouring hamlets) give to 535
the other women baked taro and pigs' entrails.

Then follows an interval when everyone waits for the
dancing to be resumed. In come the women from Tagam
and a few from Langania (one of the boys who has been
circumcised is from Langania). Most of the women have [302]
their hair painted red, but a few have it a vivid blue. All
have a smudge of the white powdered lime on their cheeks,
and each one holds a leaf. They perform the *Bilalo* dance,
which is one of the abstract formations. During the dance
one man with powdered lime in his hand strikes one of the
dancers on the back. A woman also with the powdered lime
hits a dancer on the back. Later the dancer will give the [431
person who hits him some tobacco. This action takes place 604]
frequently during all the dances, and occurs between two
people who stand in the *tamangaina* and *ripunga* relationship.[1]
The action just described always occurs whenever there is
ritual dancing, and usually provokes laughter from the
audience. I was unable to get any explanation of it from
the natives, except that it always occurs between the kindred
mentioned.

This dance is the first performed by women in these concluding rites. The dancers come from the same hamlets as the boys who were initiated. When the boys went to be circumcised, the women from all the surrounding villages danced and the men formed the audience. When the boys come out from the enclosure, it is the men from all the near-by villages who dance and the

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[1] The first is the relation between a man or a woman and their father's sister, and the second is the relationship between a man and his father's sister's son or his mother's brother's son, and between a woman and her mother's brother's daughter or her father's sister's daughter's daughter. When the relationship is between two females, the term is *Rapungaina* (*ina* being a suffix denoting female).

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women who are the observers, with the one exception just described.

Following the women, the men of Fakmalak do a very dramatic dance for which an orchestra of both men and women is provided. The men beat the *kolamuth* and the women sing. (In the other dances, when there was an "orchestra," it was composed only of men.) In the centre of the clearing has been stuck a small young tree which represents the sago tree growing on the bank of a river. One man with a mask enters and dramatically cuts down the tree with a very small model of an axe. At first he finds it difficult, but finally he succeeds and the tree is felled. Then immediately an enormous crocodile (a man inside of a very clever representation) enters on the scene. The reptile tries to kill the man. After much skirmishing the man runs "upstage" and goes through the motions of calling for help. Immediately a line of men come in, armed with small sticks representing spears. They try to kill the "crocodile," but do not succeed. There enters another line of men, similarly armed, and combining their forces they succeed in "killing" the "crocodile." It is lifted up and placed in the centre of the circle as they dance around it. This final action is symbolic of putting it in the *liga* to be baked. Then the men sit down and vividly go through the gestures of eating, since they are now supposed to be eating the crocodile. When they finish this, they rise for the vigorous finale, symbolizing victory. The dance is performed with a real dramatic verve, and holds the intense interest of the audience.

Another dramatic dance, also by the men from Fakmalak, follows. The men wear the leaf shirt and painted masks of the *tselanith anis* dance performed earlier, and the dance is one of two-line formation, one line representing women and the other men. The "men" pursue the "women," who act coyly and at first refuse to yield. But finally the men succeed, and the two lines sit down opposite each other and

each couple embraces. The audience greets the climax with 881
laughter and hilarious shouts. 778

After this dance comes the distribution of food. Sixteen [535]
pigs are on top of the bamboo structure erected for this purpose, and bundles of uncooked taro hang beneath them. Sola, the most important old man in Tagam, and owner of one of the *malanggans* being displayed, stands on top of the pigs and speaks. He refers again to the fact that Ponatlege is a new place, and that this is the first time a *malanggan* has been made here. He also recalls how in the recent past this site was bush, where children played, and men had intercourse with their mistresses, and then how Mekeo came and cut down the trees and built the first house there. (Mekeo formerly came from the hamlet of Ponembua, where Sola lives.) Sola now calls out the names of all important old men of the clan, now dead, his father, Mekeo's father, etc. He says that the *malanggan* belongs to him and Mekeo, but that all the other men of Tagam have helped with their contributions and labour. He adds that the pigs on which he stands are for the feast and that his speech is finished.

Sixteen men have given the sixteen pigs, and the fathers of the boys who were circumcised are among the contributors. The remainder are all men from Tagam, and, speaking generally, they are all the adult men of any importance in Tagam, regardless of their relationship to the eight boys. But as a matter of fact, most of them are related in some way or other, since Tagam is small and several families have intermarried. The pigs, which have been singed and the entrails removed, are now cut up and distributed. Much excitement prevails, loud calling out of the names of the men to whom the pigs are being distributed and bustling activity. Uncooked taro tied together in bunches and bundles of baked taro, bananas, and small pieces of pig are given to the women. When the distribution is

881 over, everyone goes home; the women with their heavily
778 loaded baskets, and the men carrying the large portions
of pig.

881 That night the dancing is continued at Ponatlege. The
women of Tagam do the *Burutk* dance inside the enclosure
778 of the men's house, where, under ordinary circumstances,
535 they never go. This custom, which is an exception to the
general rule, belongs exclusively to the *Walik malanggan*, now
being displayed.

The women have the usual smearing of white lime on their faces, but the birds' feathers stuck in their hair are peculiar to this dance. A woman gets the feathers from her husband, to whom she pays a half *tsera*. A widow or unmarried girl obtains the feathers from her brother or father. The dance is one of rather intricate abstract formation, with no apparent meaning. Those women who take no part in the dance sit within the enclosure of the men's house watching it. The men watch it from the outside, leaning against the fence and peering in. The dance continues rather monotonously for several hours, and then the women leave the enclosure in single file, walk around the outside, and return at another entrance. They now sit down and sing the same
881 refrain which accompanies the dance for several more
778 hours, far into the night, which concludes with promiscuous
786 intercourse. The only rule observed is the one of exogamy
between the members of the same moiety. The custom is for
a man to enter the house of any woman he desires. The
men as usual pay *tsera* for the privilege.[1] For about a week
881 after this the women of Tagam sleep together in one
778 house, Mekeo's, while he and the other men sleep else-

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[1] It is difficult to gather the exact extent of the promiscuity, because it is now frowned upon by the white Government and forbidden by the missions. I was told that the promiscuity following the dance just described was not carried on to quite the same degree as it was in the past. However, added my informants, very few of the men returned to their homes that night.

where, and the promiscuity is thus followed by a week of continence.

The morning following the *Burutk* dance an Ambwa man carries back to his own village a half of pig which was given him. He is followed by the man who gave him the half pig, and by several of the boys who have been circumcised. These boys, decorated with leaves and carrying the wooden rattle, *tarruk*, used in one of the dances and an empty basket, run all the way to Ambwa, a distance of about three miles. When they arrive in the village they stand in front of the houses and shake the rattles. The women see them and call to the men who are on the beach. The latter come and give the boys tobacco, *tsera*, and loin-cloths, which they put in the baskets and carry home with them. The same incident happened when another group of the eight circumcised boys followed a half pig to the village of Langania. These payments according to native explanation are not believed to be made for any specific thing, but are merely part of the rites pertaining to the *Walik* and *Kolebmur malanggans*.

A little over a week after this the women of Tagam go through a similar rite. Singing the song of the *Burutk* dance, they walk to Ambwa. Their hair is painted red and deco- [302]
rated with leaves, and their faces are painted red and white. There are two kinds of facial decoration. For the young girls, to whom this is the first participation in the *Walik malanggan* rites, the decoration is a round red circle on each cheek. The older women who have participated in many *Walik malanggan* rites have similar circles on their cheeks, and in addition a line connecting them over the forehead.

When they arrive at Ambwa they all sit down and rest for a while, and then the Ambwa women give them bundles of baked taro, baked fish, and coconuts. Carrying the food they return, still singing, and on the way back stop at each hamlet of Lesu where they are given more food. The women of Lesu and Ambwa prepared the food earlier in the day, and have it all ready strung on poles waiting for the visitors. This food is not considered as a return gift for that which the Tagam women gave them at the beginning of the rites, but merely as a custom concerning the *Walik malanggan.* Finally the Tagam women return to Ponatlege, and there they arrange the food in two piles. The women sit in two lines with the piles of food between them. (The lines are not according to moiety.) Then the women from Fakmalak and Langania, a few of whom have been present at all the rites, put *tsera* and tobacco on top of the food piles. The currency and tobacco goes to the owners of the *malanggans*, and is considered as payment to them for allowing these women from another village to participate in the rites. All the women now eat some of the food they have collected. This feast marks the end of the period of the women sleeping in one house. After this the women go back to their own homes. The *malanggans* remain in the enclosure. No woman has seen them.

About three months later a small feast is held by the Tagam men when the red paint is removed from the hair of the eight boys. This is done by merely covering the hair with white powdered lime.

The concluding rites take place two months after this feast. The night before the former, Sola and Mekeo, the owners of the *Walik malanggan*, secretly make two round objects called *Pundän*, which translated literally means half water.[1] The rounded coconut shell is covered completely with black paint interspersed with white polka dots. On the top is placed a round flat carved piece of wood just like the centre of the *Walik malanggan.* This circular carving is called *balji*, as it is also in the *malanggan*, and means the hearth fire.

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[1] It gets this name probably because the base is made of a half coconut shell from which the natives usually drink water; or it may refer to half of the coconut liquid which the natives drink as water.

A few boys and men (six of them) are allowed to come 881
in during the night and watch them, for which privilege 778
they pay *tsera* and tobacco to Sola and Mekeo. The observers 261
must eat some of the fat from the pigs which have been killed for the feast to be held in the morning. This is a ritual duty, and the fat is not eaten because they like it. Sometimes a man who cannot stomach the fat will merely lick it with his tongue. No native explanation for this custom exists, but it is believed that some misfortune would befall the man who had neglected to eat the fat: he might cut himself while felling a tree, or fall from a tree and die. No one else sees these *Pundän*, and after the rites they are destroyed, even before the *malanggans*.

The next morning about a hundred men gather in the 881
enclosure at Ponatlege. The two *Pundän* are out of sight in 778
the separate little enclosure behind the *malanggan* house, in front of which the food is piled—two pigs, baked taro, bananas, and a species of chestnut (*koh*). Sola stands up and talks: "These two pigs belong to the concluding rites for the *malanggan*. We have made big rites for them. All the men and all the women ate pigs. Now to-day we, the men, but not the women, will eat pigs. Why have not all the men from Langania come? All the men from Lesu and Ambwa are here. The Langania men did not come because they are lazy." Sola now gives *tsera* to one man in payment for the pig. He has contributed the other one himself. The
food is distributed according to traditional custom. After this [292]
Sola comes out adorned with a feather headdress, a bright
red loin-cloth, a pig's liver hanging out of his mouth, the [534]
shark fishing rattle in one hand, and a smaller shell rattle
in the other. *Kerapo* leaves are stuck in his armband. Thus [535]
arrayed, he dances up and down the centre of the enclosure and sings, or rather hums a wordless song. This performance is called *baeas*.

When the men have eaten there are speeches by the old

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men about the present deluge of rain, and how the rain magician will stop it. Gradually the men drift out of the enclosure. Later, the *malanggans* having served their purpose will be quietly destroyed.

SUMMARY

The *malanggan* and initiation rites are over. Sometimes it has been difficult to separate the two and know exactly when the rites were for the *malanggans* and when for the initiation of the boys. We have described them both, interwoven as they are, in detail because of the importance of initiation rites in primitive societies all over the world, and because we have so little information about the *malanggans* that details concerning their rites may be of some use in any further study of them. Their exact significance is still not quite clear. We know that they are to honour the dead, that they are taboo to women, that they are surrounded with very elaborate dances and other ritual, that wealth is necessary to make the feasts accompanying them, and that much prestige comes to him who holds the *malanggan* rites. We know, too, that they have come from the far past. In the ritual speeches, and in the more informal discussions about the carvings, there is scarcely any mention of the dead, in whose honour they might be made. Mention is made of the former ownership of them, how the present owner learned the rites (thus in a way vouching for his right to make it), and of how his clan relatives helped him. Each step in the making of the *malanggans*, from the building of the small structure to house them to the destruction of the two secret objects, *pundän*, which conclude the rites, has been elaborately solemnized with dances and feasts. No initiation of the boys could be held without these accompanying *malanggan* rites. Whether in some far-distant past they were more intimately associated

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with the dead than they appear to be now is a matter for speculation.[1]

Because the initiation and *malanggan* rites have covered such a long period of time and have been so varied and described in such detail, it is desirable to summarize the events, to point out the most significant aspects, and to suggest an interpretation. The following is the chronological sequence of events:

1. Planting of gardens and making of taro magic ten months before the big feasts.
2. Making of *malanggans* and masks begun several months before the rites take place.
3. *May 8th.*—Building of enclosure in which boys will be circumcised and secluded.
4. *June 3rd.*—Dancing all night by the women, followed the next morning by the circumcision of the boys, who after that remain within the enclosure.
5. *June 7th.*—Small house built within the enclosure to hold the *malanggans* which will be placed there later.
6. *June 25th.*—Boys come out from the enclosure. Dancing by men and placing of unpainted *malanggans* in the enclosure.
7. *June 26th–July 30th.*—Men of whole village and women of Tagam having daily dance rehearsals.
8. *July 30th–August 6th.*—Week of intensive preparations for final rites.
9. *August 6th and 7th.*—Completed *malanggans* placed in the enclosure and displayed to the men. Feast and elaborate dancing end with sexual promiscuity.[2]
10. *August 9th–August 17th.*—Women of Tagam sleep in one house and men in their own homes. Continence observed.
11. *August 27th.*—Tagam women walk singing to the next village, collecting food in each hamlet on the way. After this they go back to normal sleeping arrangements.

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[1] *Malanggans* in their context of mortuary rites and a further description of them is given, pp. 315–319 (Chapter VIII). The sale of a *malanggan* is described, pp. 210–224 (Chapter VI).

[2] If it were not that the boys had to come out of the enclosure early to go to the mission school, the rites held on June 25th and those on August 6th and 7th would have been held at one time on the last date.

881 778 12. *November 18th.*—Feast by the men in enclosure on the occasion of the removal of red paint from the hair of the eight boys.

13. *January 25th.*—Final rites and feast for the *malanggans*, after which they are destroyed.[1]

INTERPRETATION

881 778 562 Several points in the initiation rites should be considered. First, there are the different roles played by the women *versus* the men, and by the clan relatives *versus* the parents, and the role of the whole community. Prior to the circumcision, the women of the village and the neighbouring villages rehearsed their dances every night and played the dominant ritual roles. We saw them fight the men who were taking their boys away from them, and we were told that all the women were dancing in sympathy with the mothers who were losing the boys. The symbolism of these women's rites is apparently very conscious. The men, except in their fight with the women, took no part in the rites preceding the circumcision. When the boys come out from their seclusion the roles are reversed. Now the men of all the neighbouring villages come and perform their dances on this occasion. These two days of excitement and dancing have their climax on the second night in a dance by the women (mothers and other relatives) of the hamlet from which the boys come, which ends in sexual promiscuity. It would seem that the dancing of the last two days would naturally lead to a heightening of the emotions, which in turn leads to the promiscuity.[2] This might also symbolize the reuniting of

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[1] All of the above rites were witnessed, except the making of taro magic (made before my arrival), which was later observed in another connection.

[2] The admonitions during rehearsals to dance well because the members of the opposite sex will later be their audience and the vaunting display by the men before the women at a "dress" rehearsal should all be remembered in this connection.

the two sexes after their separation in the preliminary 881
rites. The unusualness of the women dancing within 778
the enclosure of the men's house, which ordinarily they do
not enter, adds to the unconventionality of the occasion. 562
Perhaps it is by stepping outside the rules of the society that the occasion is made more significant. The period of continence following the promiscuity also contributes to the significance of the event.

The women have been a unit apart from the men, opposing the circumcision of the boys and expressing their sorrow in the dance. The men have taken the boys from their mothers, and at the end of the period of seclusion have welcomed them by the dance and by the *malanggan* rites into the masculine society. The *malanggans*, it must be remembered, are the most important ritual objects of the society and taboo to the women. It is therefore quite fitting that they be displayed on this occasion.

It has been noted that the parents and clan relatives 881
play different roles, and how the relationship of the boys 778
to their clan relatives is stressed at this time. It is the 593
clan relatives who get the betel-nut and *tsera* from the
members of the opposite moiety. It is particularly the 614
maternal uncle who has featured in the rites. It is he who contributes much of the wealth necessary to hold the rites. His relationship is stressed again when his wife, and not the mother of the boy, has the opportunity of making a speech of either praise or blame about her husband.

And yet while the father does not have such an important ritual role, he is not unimportant, for it is the father and the maternal uncle who walk affectionately and encouragingly with the boy just before he enters the enclosure, and it is also the father who holds the boy during the painful operation. The relationship to the father is also emphasized when the boys come out of the enclosure and

881 give tobacco and pig's fat to the father's sister.[1] The senti-
778 ments binding fathers to their boys are given full expression,
593 even though the clan relatives may have a dominant ritual
role. The mothers who are of the same clan as their sons have
614 their role too. It is they (and not the wife of the maternal uncle) who weep and fight the men when the boys are taken into the enclosure. It is they also who have been especially zealous with contributions from their gardens and in preparing the food. While the initiation rites are of particular concern to the parents and clan relatives of the boys, the whole community is also interested and anticipates the event months in advance. The presence and participation of all the members of the community adds impressiveness to the occasion, and brings the rites to an effective and dramatic climax.

881 The combination of the *malanggan* rites with the initiation
rites is of interest. While everyone knows that the former
778 are for the dead, and while the figures on the carvings represent dead ancestors, the points stressed in speeches have nothing to do with the dead persons. Those making the *malanggans* tell how the right to make them has come down through their clan, how they have collected much wealth before they could be made, and how they are now making them because the boys are being initiated. The dead remain in their graves quite undisturbed. The making of *malanggans* at this time adds additional significance to the initiation rites.

882 The boy has been initiated and is now a full member of
masculine society. He sleeps in the men's house, and while
304 he continues to eat at home and still participates in the family life, a break has been made between him and his

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[1] This might also be interpreted in another way, for these women are of the moiety of the boys' future mates, and the presentation of tobacco and pig's fat may symbolize their future relations with women of the opposite moiety.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

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mother and all the women of the group. The circumcision itself is not the fundamental or essential part of the rite. In the past it was the adult men who were circumcised, and at this time *malanggans* were also displayed. In this same past the boys of the age who are now being circumcised had their ear lobes cut, a ceremony accompanied by the same period of seclusion, and the same fighting between the women and the men, the same display of *malanggans* when the boys came out of their seclusion, etc. The rites seem to centre around the initiation of the boys to masculine society and not around the actual circumcision, which is but an excuse. Before, the cutting of the ear lobes served as the *raison d'être*. 882 304

The girls too had their ear lobes cut, but there was no ceremony or ritual connected with it, but instead was done privately in her own house, usually when it was raining. There was some theory that the operation would not hurt so much if performed while it was raining. The piercing was done with a sharpened stone, and then a coconut leaf, rolled around a small twig, was put in the hole to make the loop drop. There is a folk-tale told to children who were afraid to have it cut, of how a man with uncut ear lobes died and how the others defecated in his ear. Most of the adults have the drooping ear lobe, and all the old people have it. But to-day this operation is very infrequently performed on children, and it will probably soon disappear. 881 304 [821]

That the ceremony in the past accompanied the operation on the ears for the boys but was lacking for the girls indicates again that the rites are essentially to mark the boy's break from home and female society and his entrance into adult male society.

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE

562 858 THE first ritual event for the girl after she has passed her infancy is at the beginning of puberty. During the first two or three years of her life she is the pet of the community and the *raison d'être* for many rites and feasts. But during her childhood she is no longer the centre of attention, and instead lives on the edge of the adult world, listening to its conversations, imitating the dances, watching her mother scrape the taro, and later doing her share in the cooking. When her brothers and the other young boys of the village are circumcised there are elaborate rites, but they do not directly concern her. It is true, she participates in the general excitement of the occasion, witnesses the ceremonies, even helps in the preparations of food, and joins in the dances of the adult women. But she is in no way an integral part of the rites. They concern the boys. At the age of five or six, or earlier, she is betrothed, but here too, while intimately concerned, it is her mother, her mother's brother, and maternal relatives of the future husband who are the actors. She is in the background.

RITES AT FIRST MENSES

881 885 She comes to the foreground when her first menses occur. This is not just a personal matter, of concern to herself or to her immediate family, but it is a ritual and communal event. It is anticipated with eagerness, and the rites are prepared for and participated in by the whole community. Its ritual and social significance is due to the fact that the girl is now considered an adult, and that the marriage rites follow immediately. It marks her entrance into adult female

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society, as the initiation rites mark the entrance of boys into adult male society. 885

While the people of Lesu have no record of ages and no 881 unit of the year, there is some knowledge from observation of the development of the body (particularly the size of the 856 breasts) as to when the first menses may be expected. 841 Everyone knows that some time within the next eight or ten moons a young girl will reach puberty. When I asked who of the village would probably reach puberty during my visit, I was told that most likely it would be Tsuros. And that is as it happened. Tsuros has her first menses, and the news spreads eagerly through the village. It is talked about as a great event. Immediately bananas are brought by the women of both moieties and buried in the sand by the men, in preparation for the feast which will soon be held.

There is no seclusion for the girl during this period of her 881 first menses, at the end of which is her ritual washing. Just before sunrise she is washed in the sea by an old woman, who holds in her hand a branch of the tree *tsil*. The girl and the old woman stand in the rather shallow water just off the reef as the old woman dips the leaves in the sea and then waves them over the girl, touching the various parts of her body with the wet leaves. As she does so she says the following spell:

Leaf, leaf, I wash her,
Soon her breasts will develop,
I take away sickness of blood.

Then the leaves are mixed with white lime and rubbed all 302 over the body of the girl by the same old woman, and after that she paints the girl's hair red. The old woman is not chosen for her relationship to the girl, or because she is of any particular moiety or clan, but merely because of her knowledge of the spell. Should the ritual washing of the girl not occur, it is thought that her breasts will not develop, and she would therefore lack the symbol of womanhood.

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A feast is held on the day of the ritual washing. The village women of both moieties come, bringing their taro, to the hamlet where the girl lives, and there they prepare it to be baked in the *liga*. The girl herself is present, but does not help in the preparations. Then the women of the *Telenga* moiety give the food that they have brought and prepared to the women of the *Kongkong* moiety, and *vice versa*. The girl is given a bundle of taro specially prepared for her by her father's sister. If the girl is of the *Telenga* moiety, the *Telenga* women advance singing, carrying bundles of taro given to them by the *Kongkong* women, to the place where the girl is sitting and pile the food up in front of her. They sing: [533]

Nama maagulip igitupmi
maresik weh weh
ngat amni tso ogaluna.[1]

The *Telenga* women then remain sitting by the girl near the pile of food contributed by the *Kongkong* women, who sit a short distance away by their pile of food given by the *Telenga* women. Each group eats a little, and then loads the remainder in their baskets to carry home, where the whole family get their share.

[562] This is one of the few ritual occasions which is dominated by the women. But the relationship of the girl to her father seems to be stressed at this time, as the women in discussing this matter with me always emphasized the fact that the women giving the food to the girl and the members of her moiety are of the same moiety as her father. Although the girl is betrothed and her wedding rites follow shortly, there is no mention that it is her future husband's moiety who is giving her taro.

841 Before describing the wedding rites which come some time during the next month, the subject of menstruation in

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[198] [1] This I am unable to translate. Most of the songs of this people are in some obsolete and forgotten language, and they themselves do not know the meaning of the words.

general may be touched upon. The women have pain the 841 first day, headache, and sometimes cramps, which diminish the second and third days. During their first menses they do not wash in the sea, but they do so during the succeeding ones. The attitude towards their monthly illness, in general, is that it is a nuisance. There is also a feeling of shame about it as far as men are concerned. The women would be very much ashamed to have men see their menstruating blood. In the past, when straw aprons were worn, they always inserted extra straw in them, and to-day they wear a black loin-cloth instead of a light-coloured one. There is no other protection. They do not have intercourse while they are [833] menstruating, and regard such a custom as disgusting.

Some time within a month after the first menses the 585 marriage rites are held. Betrothal has already been described.

WEDDING RITES

The husband-to-be has been making presents to his future wife and her clan relatives since he first secured their [583] consent. Now come the final rites and the payment for the bride. Tsuros had her first menses in the beginning of November, and her wedding rites were held on November 23rd. Preparations began on November 14th, when all 585 the women of Lesu went to Panat, the hamlet where Tsuros 535 lives with her parents, to practise their dancing. The next day bananas were buried in the sand on the beach at Panat. From then on, until the day of the rites, the women practise their dances every night at this hamlet. Tsuros, the bride-to-be, is sometimes present participating in the rehearsal, but on other nights she is away crab-hunting on the reef. She does not dance during the rites, and her absence or presence at rehearsals seems to mean nothing to the other women. One night when the women were dancing around a fire and the full moon was shining upon them, they were in a

585 particularly jolly mood, and began to laugh, "cut up," and
535 not pay much attention to their dancing. The old men of the
hamlet and a few others were sitting on one side watching them.[1] One old man stood up and called out angrily to the women to stop their laughing. He asks them if they thought they were playing, and if they do not realize that later all the men would be looking at them, and that then they must dance well. He also mentions the future payments of tobacco, with the suggestion that they must dance well to deserve them. After this short harangue the women control their laughter and dance more seriously.

On November 22nd, two nights before the wedding, the dancing becomes quite wild. Both *Telenga* and *Kongkong* women are dancing. Tsuros is in the house asleep. There is no taboo or other restriction against her participation; she is just tired and not interested. The women dance in a spirit
585 of wild play, lifting up their loin-cloths, exposing themselves.
535 The dancing continues throughout the night, and ends with
786 some of the women having intercourse with the men who
have been watching them. This is the rather promiscuous sexual intercourse which occasionally follows the dances. The taboo against sexual relationship between members of the same moiety holds, however, even at this time, so that there is never complete promiscuity.

585 The next day these same women, as well as women from the neighbouring village of Ambwa, are all at Panat early in the morning, preparing the taro for the feast. The usual cooking preparations occupy the entire day.

The day after the rites take place. In the open compound the Panat women from Lesu, Ambwa, Langania, and Kabil far outnumber the men, for only the men from Lesu are present. Two equally large piles of food, uncooked taro, bundles of baked taro, sugar-cane, bananas, coconuts, and pigs are conspicuously displayed. One heap has been contributed by the *Telenga* women (the same moiety as Tsuros), and the other by *Kongkong* women. 585

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[1] This is one of the exceptional times when the men watch the women rehearsing their dances.

As soon as everyone has arrived, which is about an hour or so before noon, the dancing begins. The first dance called *Kapila* from one of the Tabar Islands is by the *Kongkong* women. It is performed in two-line formation. Next, the *Kongkong* women from Ambwa do their dance called *Kaya*. They are followed by *Kongkong* men from Lesu, who, dressed in leaf petticoats and armed with spears, do a warlike dance in two-line formation called *Rumus*. The fourth dance is by *Kongkong* women, mostly from the hamlet of Onel. All these dances are in honour of Tsuros (who is *Telenga*), and during the dancing her clan relatives fling presents of tobacco and loin-cloths to the dancers. 575 535 [431]

Now the *Telenga* people are supposed to dance in honour of Pirau, the bridegroom, who is *Kongkong*, but at the last moment these dances are called off because the sky looks as if rain will come down soon. (It is the beginning of the rainy season, and heavy deluges are an almost daily occurrence.) It is desired to finish the rites before the storm breaks.

Next comes the distribution of the marriage payment, which was made several months ago, when the circumcision rites were performed. At that time Pirau's parents had come from Kanopil, on the west coast, and given him five *tsera* collected from his clan relatives. He, in turn, gave it to Tsuros' maternal relatives (her mother, her maternal grandfather and grandmother). The payment was not made in public or ritually. They accepted it, and, after considering the matter, decided that there was not sufficient to give all Tsuros' *Telenga* relatives, to whom it was proper that payment be made. They foresaw that if they gave to some and not to others there would be much talk and gossip, which they must avoid in order not to diminish their social prestige. So the members of Tsuros' clan, her mother, her mother's 585 583

585 mother, a classificatory sister and brother[1] contributed
583 additional *tsera*. When I asked if this were not irregular, and why the members of Pirau's own clan, or at least moiety, did not assist him, I was told that if Pirau had asked them before he made the original payment they would certainly have helped him.[2] But he had not asked them. After he had made the payment he could not ask, nor could they offer, more. The payment was finished. Then it was that some of
[554] the members of Tsuros' clan decided to supplement the payment in order to maintain their prestige (not Pirau's). He need not repay them, but it is considered that they will be reimbursed with *tsera* at other marriage rites by those to whom they now give it.

Another marriage payment, made by Biga for his wife Nut, is more according to traditional custom. This marriage payment consists of twelve *tsera*, tobacco, and seven or eight loin-cloths. He has given four *tsera*, and the rest is contributed almost entirely by his clan relatives, although a few of his father's clan relatives have also assisted. Biga's maternal uncle, his *tata*, has been the leader in collecting the payments. (Biga works on a plantation, and has not so much free time.) The same maternal uncle goes with Biga and hands over the payment to Biga's future wife's mother and sister. Biga makes no return payment to those who have contributed to this payment, but at some future time he will assist kin of his in their marriage payments.

At the wedding rites for Tsuros the payment is ritually distributed. Sitting on the ground, the *tsera* on a mat between them, are Kokala, Tsuros' mother, and Towi and Nunda, her maternal grandfather and grandmother. Beiki, her father, stands to one side. Towi, her grandfather, stands up, holding the *tsera* in plain view, and calls out the name of 585 the person who is to receive it, and Beiki then hands it over. 583 No one presses forward to claim his *tsera*, and sometimes Beiki has to search for several minutes to find the person whose name has been called. The distribution is as follows: The five *tsera* which Pirau paid are given to the following five people: (1) Tsuros, his future wife; (Tsuros as ego in following kinship terms) (2) Batu, who is a classificatory daughter; (3) Pakul and (4) Tukan, who are classificatory brothers; and (5) Korat, a classificatory son. All these are members of Tsuros' clan. Nine other people, members of Tsuros' moiety and classificatory kindred, also receive *tsera* which her clan relatives had contributed.

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[1] These were respectively a mother's father's sister's son's daughter and a mother's father's mother's sister's son.

[2] It must be remembered that Pirau comes from a village on the west coast and has no clan relatives at Lesu.

Besides these *Telenga* people, certain *Kongkong* people are given *tsera*. First, there is Boluth, to whom Tsuros stands in the relationship of a classificatory cross-cousin's daughter, and therefore a preferred mate.[1] The payment now is regarded as a return for presents of food he has given her, and as a kind of compensation for his loss of a possible mate. Another piece of *tsera* is given to Luasaw, a little boy whose maternal uncle, also named Luasaw, had been betrothed to Tsuros. Luasaw, the senior, is dead, and his namesake and nephew gets the payment in his place. To the former she had stood in the relation of a classificatory cross-cousin's daughter, and therefore a preferred mate. Ongas, another man who stands in the relationship of a preferred husband, is likewise given one *tsera*.

Now Towi hands over one *tsera* to Pirau's father for the pig which he gave for the feast. Then Kokala, Tsuros' mother, gives one *tsera* to her husband for the pig which he gave for their daughter's feast. It is of interest to note how at this time the clan relationship is stressed, in that the girl's own father is paid for his contribution by the girl's mother. In contrast, her maternal grandmother, who has also given

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[1] Boluth is Tsuros' mother's father's mother's sister's daughter's son.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

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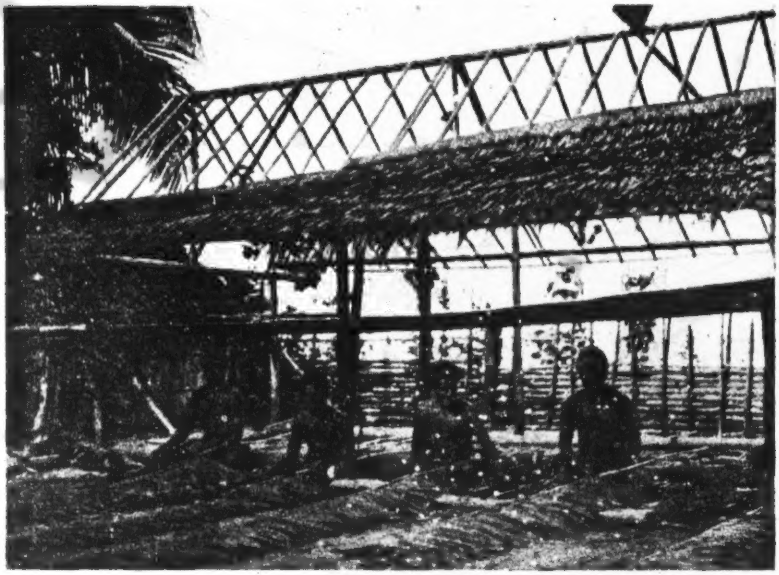

THATCHING THE ROOF

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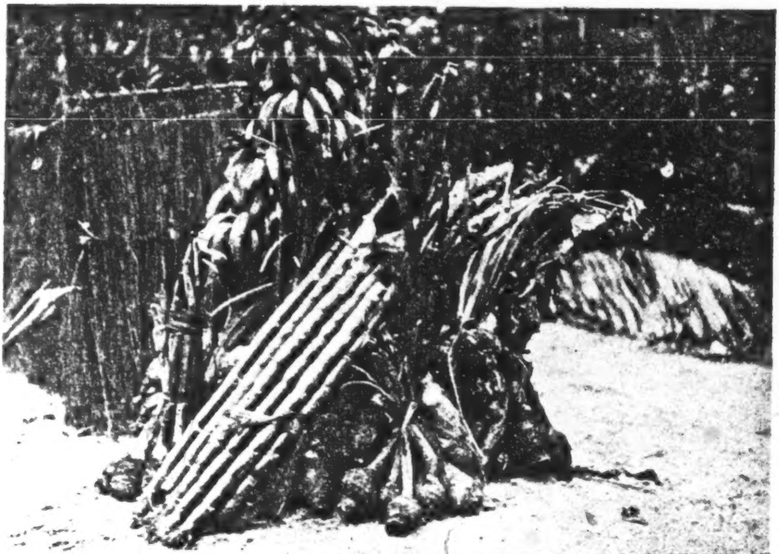

RITUAL PILE OF FOOD, SHOWING TARO, SUGAR-CANE, AND BANANAS

[facing p. 148]

585 a pig, refuses the payment which is offered her. She says
583 that she wishes to give the pig without payment to her granddaughter's feast. Then Tsuros gives her pig to Pirau, and he pays her three *tsera* for it, and he gives his pig to Tsuros, who in turn pays him three *tsera*. This is the perfect reciprocal exchange, in which exact equals are the objects of the transaction.

585 When the distribution of the *tsera* has been completed, a
537 group of *Kongkong* women from Lesu run on the scene, carrying knives, baskets, fish-nets, and other implements used in procuring food, and circle around the pile of food contributed by the *Telenga* people. Each of the *Kongkong* women in turn holds up an implement and speaks. One says: "With this knife my husband cuts down the bush and clears the ground for the garden. Then I plant in the garden, and after that we have much taro to eat."

Another speaks, holding a basket: "All the men eat pig, fish, and taro in the cemetery. Now, when my husband's stomach is full he puts the remainder of the food in the basket and brings it out to me to eat."

One, holding a fishing-spear, says: "Suppose I am hungry for fish: my husband goes out fishing, spears a fish, and later I eat it."

Holding a knife, another one says: "This knife, I work with it. My husband does not know how to work. He just strolls about all the time. I must do his work. It is I who have to mend the garden fence. It is I who clear the ground where the taro is to be planted. I work with this knife." Loud laughter from the audience! The laughter is directed against the lazy husband and not the woman. More speeches of this same nature follow.

When the *Kongkong* women have finished, four *Telenga* women run on the scene. They carry no implements of work, and they stand round the pile of food contributed by the members of Pirau's moiety. First Kokala, the mother of

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

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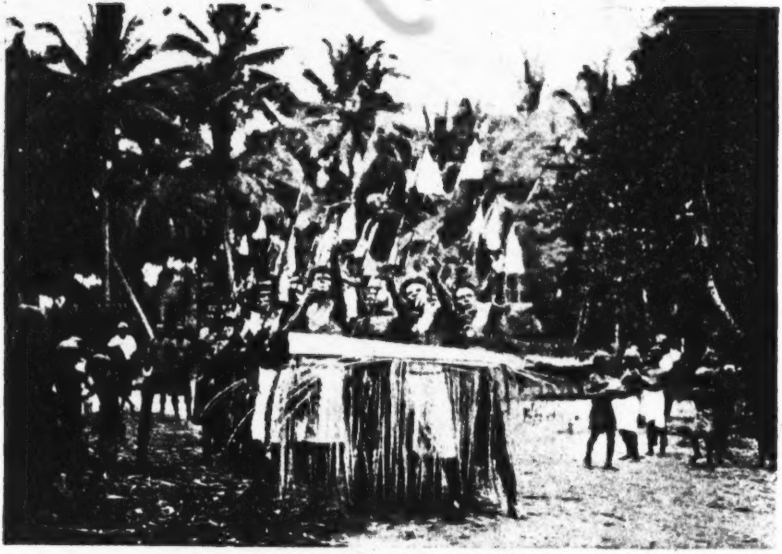

A WAR DANCE

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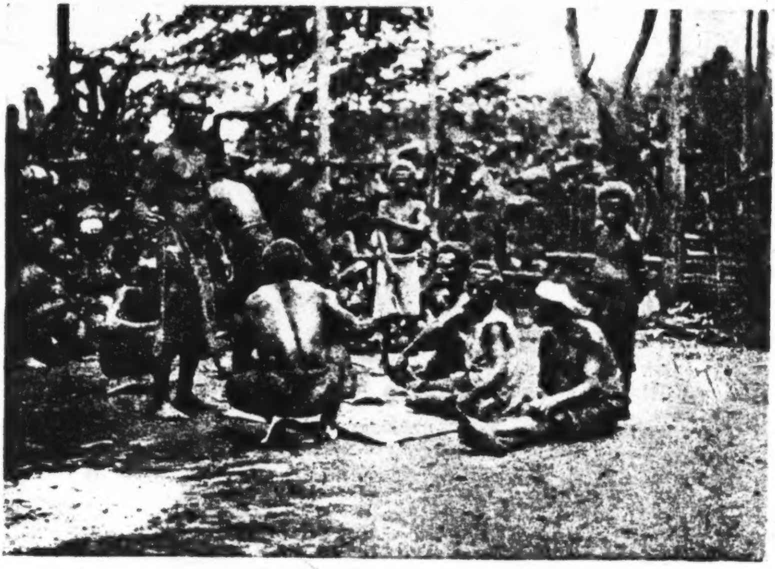

THE MARRIAGE PAYMENT. THE BRIDE'S CLAN RELATIVES ARE SITTING AROUND THE MAT ON WHICH THE PAYMENT RESTS. HER MATERNAL UNCLE IS HOLDING UP ONE STRING BEFORE DISTRIBUTING IT

[Facing p. 149]

525 537 Tsuros, speaks: "I am just one person. I have no brothers or sisters. I stand alone. If I had many clan relatives, there would have been much more food. The place would have been filled with food. You have seen that there are plenty of *Kongkong* women, but all my sisters (used in the classificatory sense) have died. I am one person, that's all. My *korup* (taboo) relative (referring to her new son-in-law, Pirau) is a young boy. (He is about seventeen.) Tsuros is also young. They have not been betrothed long. He has not yet brought plenty of food. I have not yet eaten bananas or other food which he should have brought."

Then Pulong, a classificatory sister to Tsuros, speaks: "Pirau has not given us much yet. Just a little fish and a little tobacco; but he has not been here very long. Suppose he stays a year longer, then I think he will give us plenty of food."

Strubi, a member of Tsuros' clan, follows, saying briefly: "Pirau has given me a little tobacco. Suppose he has been married a long time, he will give me much tobacco."

Tsangamor, another member of Tsuros' clan, holding up an axe, says: "With this axe, which I hold up, Pirau has cleared a garden for me, which later I planted. Pirau is young and has not been here long. After he has been married a long time he will bring me much food."

585 431 These women of the bride's clan have not taken advantage of the custom of speaking about their husband's ability to provide them with food, but instead have discussed the same quality in the man who is marrying a member of their clan. In the preceding chapter we noted how the man was expected constantly to make gifts, particularly food and tobacco, to his future wife's clan relatives. In this case Pirau the groom, is from another part of the island, and has only been in the village for about a year. His own clan relatives are far away. The last four speeches show very plainly what has been expected of him, and that he has not performed

585 all the services anticipated of a prospective bridegroom.
431 But at the same time they do not berate him for not having come up to expectations. Rather do they make excuses for him and express their confidence that in the future he will fulfill all his obligations to his wife's clan relatives.

585 When the women have finished talking, Ongas, the "Luluai" (chief) (and also one of the preferred mates for Tsuros),[1] stands up and speaks: "To-day we have come to this feast. All the women, all the children, all the men have come to the feast. Now one man from the west coast, one from the mission, marries Tsuros. The feast is sufficient for him. But suppose it was a Lesu man who was marrying Tsuros, there would be a much bigger feast. This feast is really a very small one. Also suppose that so many of Tsuros' clan relatives had not died, there would be a much larger feast. Now we have to hasten this feast, because Pirau must soon go to Pinakundo. The gardens are really not ready for the feast, but because we had to hurry we have the feast now. I have finished talking."

Then Ongas directs the distribution of food. Half is to go to the women who came the day before and contributed food, and the other half to those who have come from the distant villages of Langania, Kabil, etc., to-day, and who have not contributed food. The men are busy preparing the food for distribution. They place the bundles of food in a long line and put a stick in the middle of the line, which marks the division indicated by Ongas.

While the men are so occupied, a group of thirty or forty women have gone outside the compound, all the *Telenga* women in one direction, and all the *Kongkong* women in the opposite direction. After walking a short distance, each group turns and advances toward the other, shouting, laughing, and vigorously hurling coconut shells at each other as soon as they approach within throwing range. The shells fly about in a lively fashion for three or four minutes, and then the playful fighting is over. The women re-enter the compound, sit down, and wait until the men have finished arranging the distribution of food. As usual, the women appear disinterested in the distribution and take no notice of it. First comes the distribution of the food to the women of Lesu and Ambwa, who have contributed food for the occasion. The food brought by the *Telenga* women is given to the *Kongkong* women, and *vice versa* Then comes the distribution of food to the women from Langania and Kabil, who have just arrived that day. The moieties do not figure in these last gifts, which are expected to be returned at some future time when the Lesu and Ambwa women go to Langania and Kabil. There is no eating at these rites, and after the distribution the women load the food on their backs and start on their way home. The wedding is over.

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[1] He speaks in his role as the chief and a good orator, rather than because of his kinship to the bride.

But in the meantime what has happened to the bride and groom? During the rites which have just been described they remained in the background. A stranger would not be able to pick them out of the crowd as the bride and groom for whom the rites were being held. They never notice each other, not even with so much as a smile or glance, and seem to be oblivious of one another. They mix with the crowd (but separately), and are always onlookers rather than participants. Neither one has danced. Pirau had, however, assisted the other men in distributing the food. While they are now considered to be ritually married, the marriage may not be consummated immediately, particularly if the girl, like Tsuros, has just reached puberty. Frequently, the two will not have any sexual relations for six or eight months. When a girl has just had her first menses, she is considered too young for both sexual intercourse and pregnancy. She eats with her husband in her parents' compound, but she continues sleeping in her parents' house, and he in the men's

585 house. The girl is referred to as *katumbo* (his wife), and the man as *kamalis* (her husband). Their relationship is described as *oning itara*, literally, "eat together," and this eating together seems to symbolize the marriage relationship. Frequently, in the folk-tales, we are told that a man and a woman, or a man and two women, sit down together and eat to express the fact that they are married. The life in common between a man and his wife is symbolized by the meals in common. Later, although both may have extra-marital relations with other people, they will not eat with these others.

CONSUMMATION OF MARRIAGE

585 During this interval after the marriage rites and before 832 the sexual consummation of the marriage, the man will usually make love magic so that his wife will desire him. Sometimes he merely gives her a certain leaf to smoke which is supposed to have magical properties, and over which no spell need be said. The *wulish* leaf is one of these. The man rolls the leaf between the palms of his hands and then puts it in the sun to dry. After it is dry he mixes it with some tobacco and gives it, via a third person (sometimes his mother), to his wife. She smokes it, and after that she desires him.[1] Until they have sexual relations there is "shame" between them. Tomerare told me about his experience in 585 his first sexual relationship with his wife Pakamus. She was 833 perhaps a year or so past puberty when he married her, and so was considered, as far as her age went, ready for sexual intercourse, and they immediately went to live together in the same house. After the marriage rites they ate together, but both were very shy. They were so filled with "shame" that they could scarcely look at each other. He gave her the *wulish* leaf to smoke, and on the third night after their marriage he woke her from sleep and they had

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[1] Love magic will be discussed in detail in a following chapter.

intercourse. "At first," said Tomerare, "she cried, but 585
after that she liked it, and now there is no more shame 833
between us." Now it is said, "*Lulisi e maisi sa*," "the two are truly married." There is no feast or rite to mark the actual consummation of the marriage, for this is a private matter with which society is not concerned.

It has already been mentioned that, should the girl have 585
just reached puberty, six or eight moons, or even more, may 833
elapse before the marriage is consummated. It is unthinkable 837
that a girl should have sexual relations with anyone else during this period. Her husband should be the first. But it is admitted that the "unthinkable" occurs occasionally. In that case the "other man" makes a payment of *tsera* to the wife, which she in turn gives to her husband. But this, as we shall see, is the usual pattern of behaviour for all extra-marital intercourse.[1]

During the consummation of their marriage and immedi- 585
ately following it they may spend the first few nights in the 591
wife's mother's house, if the husband has no house ready. The parents leave the house and go to some other. As soon as the husband has built a new house he and his wife live in it. A new household has been added to the village, and the husband and wife take their places as part of the adult community.

SALIENT ASPECTS OF RITES

Significant aspects of the rites which mark the girl's 585
entrance into adult society may be mentioned here. First, 182
there is the role taken by the moieties in the exchange of food and in the playful fighting between the women. This playful fighting which occurs between the women of opposite moieties at the wedding rites, and also at pregnancy and birth rites (all concerned with some phase

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[1] If the woman is a widow, or has passed puberty a year or more, there is no interval between rite and consummation.

585 of sexual relations), might be considered symbolically as
182 a dramatization of the fear of incest. The society is divided into two halves or moieties, and relationship within one moiety is considered as incest and the very worst crime. The fighting emphasized the dual division, and might give some relief to people who have a dread of the incest which would occur if the division was not observed. The comfort which many primitive peoples receive by dramatic symbols of their fears and desires has been pointed out by Professor Seligman.[1] The frequent exchange of food between the two moieties might similarly be a symbolic dramatization of the same dual division in the society.

The importance of the clan relatives is clearly seen in connection with the marriage payments. It is the groom's clan relatives who help him collect the payment, and the bride's clan relatives who receive it, with the exception of the bride's potential mates, who receive compensation. That the girl's clan plays the leading role in contributing to the feast is brought out clearly when her own father is paid by her mother for a pig. The significance of the clan is thus given overt expression.

And lastly, this occasion of the girl's coming of age and her marriage is a peculiarly feminine one. At the rites for her first menses the women are the main actors. The men merely assist in the preparations. At the final rites of marriage it is again the women who have the stellar roles, and although the men assist, and even participate in the dancing, they have no feast. The food is given to the women. At most of the rites in this society the feasts are exclusively masculine, with the women getting the left-overs. When the exception occurs, it therefore makes the occasion a significant one.

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[1] Seligman, C. G., "Anthropological Perspective and Psychological Theory," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXII (1932), pp. 197-198, 201-203, and *passim*.

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CHAPTER VI

WORK

It is obvious that the type of economic structure is related 060
in some degree to the environment which, while it may not act as a determining factor, is a limiting condition. The general appearance and topography of the island have already been described in the introductory chapter. Here it is necessary only to emphasize the resources.

RESOURCES

Both the land and the sea provide the means of livelihood. 433
In the dense bush are hunted wild pigs which are used for 262
immediate consumption, or domesticated and eaten at some future time. Parts of the same bush ground are cleared for the gardens. The principal crop is taro, but yams are also cultivated to some extent. Banana trees are planted in large numbers, as are also the pawpaw trees. Pineapple trees have been introduced, but are not grown extensively. Coconut trees, while not planted in the gardens, are found wild everywhere. Betel-nuts, the south-sea almond, a species of apple, sugar-cane, dates, and bread-fruit may also be found in a wild state throughout the bush. Along the banks of the rivers are the sago palms, the fruit of which is highly valued. A species of tobacco is also grown and is much in demand by the ever-smoking natives.

From the bush also comes the material for building houses. 433
Palm, bamboo, and hardwood trees are all at the disposal of the native when he builds his shelter. The material for drums, *malanggans*, canoes, fishing-nets, etc., comes from the same place, as do also the dyes and paints which colour the elaborate *malanggans* and dancing-masks and sometimes

433 the face. Brightly coloured birds give their plumage for headdresses, but are not considered as food. Snakes used
[262] to be eaten, but to-day are not used as food.[1] There is a species of phalanger which is occasionally eaten and whose teeth are used for necklaces. The wild pig is highly valued as food, and it or its domesticated brother is necessary for a big feast. So to the native the bush is not only a dark, mysterious place, peopled with his doubles, the *gas*, and occasionally with ghosts, or the place where he goes for his extra-marital intercourse, but it is primarily a very intimate and essential part of his world, from which he gets many of the necessary resources both for his everyday and ritual life. That the bush could give him much more does not occur to him. The paucity of his material culture and diet, compared to other Oceanic peoples in a similar environment, merely indicates that the New Irelander has not made full use of the natural resources at hand.

433 The sea, too, he views from its practical aspects. Out of it come the fish which are an important part of his food
262 supply. On the reefs are the crabs and shellfish which form a welcome variation in the diet. The turtle is a rarer delicacy, and has two uses: its internal organs are highly prized as a food, and from its shell is made the design on the breast ornament (*kepkep*) and fish-hooks. The shark provides an exciting occupation and an occasional variation in diet. Once a year there emerges from the sea a special worm, the *beta*, the catching of which is a ritual occasion, and it, too, is a welcome delicacy. The water from the sea, filtered somewhat as it bubbles up through a hole on the sandy beach, is, with the fresh coconut milk, the only other drink the natives have.

515 The sea to the native is not only the source of part of his food, but is his bath-tub and finger-bowl as well. When he

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[1] The missions have said that the snake is evil, because of its actions in the original garden of Paradise, and so it is not to be eaten.

returns from the gardens, hot and tired, it is into the sea that he first plunges; after a feast, it is in the sea that he washes his hands. The sea, however, is not just purely utilitarian. It is a frolicing place for both children and adults. The children play in the shallow water just off the reefs, and the adults, a bit further out, lie on the crest of a wave and know the fun of being carried out on it. Lastly, to the native, the sea is a pleasing picture to gaze upon as he sits on the beach. 515

OWNERSHIP OF RESOURCES

Since from the land and sea come the means of livelihood, 423 the ownership of them is important. There are two kinds of ownership of land, or rather two kinds of land. The clan or *tsinanis* land, on which dwell certain clan animals and the *gas*, has already been mentioned; then there is the remainder of the land, which does not belong to the clan but to the village. The clan land, owned communally by members of the clan, covers only a very small area. From the view-point of economic resources it is the village land which is the most significant. The village stretches for three or four miles along the cleared ground by the sea, and extending inward five or six miles from it is the bush, all of which, with the exception of the clan land, is owned communally by the people of the village. A man and wife may plant their garden wherever there is any uncultivated ground, and there is much to choose from. But they will, if possible, plant the ground that had previously been planted by their parents, and where they had worked in their youth assisting them. If a husband and wife are from the same village they may have gardens on both their parents' ground, provided the ground is fairly close together. If a choice had to be made it would fall on the land formerly planted by the wife's parents. If the man comes from another village, it is, of course, the plot formerly used by his wife's parents which they now

423 use. This is an informal custom rather than a rigid rule. Should another person want to plant on the ground, he would usually talk the matter over first with the son or daughter of the person who had formerly planted on it, and invariably he would receive permission to plant. But there is no way of preventing him from planting the ground should he desire to do so without asking permission. The land is considered as belonging to the community, although it is customary for individuals to plant on certain sections of it.

The ownership of the village land is based on the principle of locality, as differing from the ownership of the clan land, which is based upon the principle of kinship. But though a native changes his residence, he does not lose his ownership in the land of the village where he was born. This principle is brought out quite clearly in some recent purchases of land by the Mandated Government. The selling of land [425 177] is an innovation, brought in by the white Government, principally for the benefit of planters. When any such purchase is made, the consent of all the mature people of the village must be gained. If some village-owned land is sold to the Government, a man born in the village, but who has moved away to another, will return to his own village to receive the part of the payment which is due to him. It is considered that the land of the village where he was born belongs to him, or, as one native put it, to him and his mother, as residence is matrilocal and lineage matrilineal. For a concrete example, a man born at Ambwa married a woman from the village of Libba and went to live there. When some Ambwa land was sold, he went back to get his share in the payment, for, as he explained, this was his mother's village and his. Should any of the Libba land be sold he is not entitled to any of the payment. His children and his wife will receive a share, and sometimes his wife's relatives will give him a small part of the payment, not because it is due to him, but because it is a gesture of polite generosity to one who is living in their village. 423

In the past the land owned by members of the clan had no utilitarian function. It was merely land with which one had close totemic connections and where one's *gas* or double dwelt. It was never planted on or built upon because the native was afraid of the *tsinanis* animals and *gas*. But with the coming of the white man and his coconut plantations this custom has been changed. The native saw the white man plant on the *tsinanis* land and saw also that nothing disastrous happened; so he lost his fear and now plants on it, although he retains his belief in the *gas* and *tsinanis* animals. Sometimes this clan land is too far away from its owners for them to plant it, so people of other clans, who may live close to it, will make their gardens there. If they have a large crop, these people will usually give a portion of it to the real owners, and should the land be sold to the white man, those who have gardens on it are entitled to a share of the payment. But they are not considered the real owners, for while they may have their gardens on the land, they may not bequeath it at their death. The land automatically is bequeathed to the clan descendants of the members who own the land. The ownership of this clan land never passes out of the hands of those members who have totemic and clan association with it. 423 178 311

However, there are ways of circumventing temporarily this traditional rule, and one example of such circumvention came to my notice. A man named Noas, who belonged to the *Tsililia* clan, at the time of his father's death made a payment for his father's clan land (on which he wanted to plant) to the members of his father's clan, which was *Sinpop*, and to which the land would naturally have belonged. At Noas' death the land will go back to the *Sinpop* clan, the members of which will make a return payment to the members of Noas' clan. This is the only case I found in which one individual, rather than a group, was considered an owner, 423 425

423 and in discussing it with native informants, they said it was
425 because he paid for it with *tsera*. It has already been noted
that land, as a rule, is inherited automatically, and this is the only instance of a "sale" of land (even though a temporary one) between natives.

423 While land is communally owned, vegetables, trees, and
anything planted on it are individually owned. Thus, if a
422 man plants a tree, this tree and its fruit belong exclusively
to him, and at his death will belong to his maternal nephew, or some other clan relative. But the land on which the tree is planted retains its communal ownership.

The same principle holds for the sea. There is no private ownership of rights in fishing. The sea and the reefs are open to all. If a man makes a trap in the shallow water off the reef, the fish in it will belong to him. But anyone can make such a trap in any place.

Thus the land and sea, from which come the means of livelihood for these people, are communally owned, and only the actual fruits of one's labour are private possessions. Objects owned individually are: ornaments, spears, implements, houses, clothes, and currency.

SEASONAL VARIATIONS

221 The utilization of these communally owned natural re-
132 sources for individual needs might be called work. Production
is much the same all the year round, and there are very few seasonal variations. The two seasons are: (1) that of the South-East Trade Winds, which is the dry season, and (2) the one of the North-East Monsoon, which brings the rain. The former begins in April and lasts until December. But this is the wet tropics, so that even in the so-called dry season there is usually some rain once every twenty-four hours, most frequently in the night. During the rainy season there is less fishing and a slight lessening in general outdoor

activities. But it is merely a matter of degree. The intense sunshine which follows the heavy rains causes a rapid evaporation. So, even after the heaviest storms, gardening is resumed, and fishing and house-building are begun again. Coconut and other trees bear all the year round, and in the same way there are taro crops all the year. There are thus no contrasting seasons of plenty and dearth, unless there are exceptional times of drought. The description of work will hold, therefore, for the whole year, although there may be slightly less activity during the rainy season. 221 132

DIVISION OF LABOUR

It is the sexual division of labour adhered to so rigidly that first strikes the ethnological observer. Men have one kind of work and women another, and a third kind may be done by either one of them or jointly. As a whole, the division appears to be a most equitable one, and based on the physical capacities of each sex. It is the men who have the strenuous job of clearing the dense jungle ground, and it is the women who come later and plant on it. It is the women who cook, while the men bring in the firewood and make the fires. Even in the cooking there is a division, for the men prepare the animals to be baked, while the women's cooking is restricted to the vegetable portions of the meal—taro and yams. It is the men who go forth into the sea with their nets and spears to catch the fish, while the women content themselves with catching crabs off the reef. It is the women who feed the pigs, carry the water, and keep the house clean, while the men go into the bush and hunt wild pigs. It is the men who build the houses and keep them in repair, but the women carry the heavy burdens on their backs. There are joint occupations such as taking care of the children, the making of magic, and minor detailed work like the basket-making. Carving and most of the objects of material culture are made by 462

462 the men. The table opposite gives the exact division of all labour according to sex.

On the major occupations this demarcation is rigid. No woman ever goes fishing and no man ever scrapes taro. But in some of the less important tasks there may be exceptions. If a woman is very tired her husband may go to the beach and fill the hollow bamboo stems with water for her. This was taken for granted, and when I saw it happen several times there was no ridicule.

561 There is a lesser degree of division on lines of age. When we were discussing childhood we noted how the participation of children in the adult occupations was gradually increased, and how by the time puberty was reached the children were taking their full share in the daily tasks. We saw also how, from early childhood, the sex division was maintained, the boys accompanying the men and the little girls the women. From puberty until old age there is practically no division based on age. When a man and woman become old their tasks are lightened and gradually cease altogether. The feeble old people are not expected to work and they are cared for by their children.

463 Although every man fishes, hunts, and builds his house, and every woman cooks and cultivates her garden, there are also specialists in certain occupations. There are the magicians, the "doctors," the carvers, and the weavers of fishing-nets. The magicians are the most highly specialized and command the greatest esteem. A minor degree of specialization also occurs, for example, in that one man may be more proficient in setting up the posts of a house than others; another is a more skilled fisherman; or one woman may be known for her skill in preparing taro in a particular way. But all the specialists participate in the daily routine of living. Even the magician clears the bush ground, fishes, and hunts just like the other men of the village. The only one who is exempt (and then only for a time) is the carver. When he is busy

[Text continues on p. 164]

Masculine	*Feminine*	*Joint*
Clearing ground for new garden and building garden fence. Planting trees. Getting sago.	Planting taro and yams; weeding; gathering crops and carrying them home.	
Fishing.	Catching crabs on the reef.	Catching the sea-worm, *beta*.
Hunting wild pig and phalanger.	Feeding domestic pigs.	
Cutting firewood; making the *liga*; bringing the leaves for cooking.	Drawing water.	
Preparing pig, fish, and sago to be cooked. Burying bananas in the sand.	Preparing taro and yams to be cooked.	
House-building and repairing.	Sweeping the house and keeping it in order.	
Making of masks, canoes, *malanggans*, fishing-nets, spears, ornaments.	Carrying heavy burdens with the exception of fish and pigs.	Making baskets and mats. Taking care of children. Medicine and magic. Making "paint" for the hair.

462

463 making a mask or *malanggan* he does nothing else but that.

Sex, then, is the major line on which the division of work is made and determines the daily labour. If a man becomes a specialist, it depends on his inheritance or purchase of magic, or special skill as a craftsman.

OCCUPATIONS

461 Those occupations which are most basic, in the sense that they go on continuously, are gardening, cooking, and fishing. Important, but more intermittent, are hunting, house-building, and the making of objects of material culture. The making of magic is not an occupation pursued for its own end, but is an intrinsic part and accompaniment of many tasks, as it is also of other aspects of life such as love-making or medical practices. The use of magic in connection with everyday occupations is indicated in the following description, but the detailed spells, their analysis as a way of thinking, the part they play in the mental life of the native, will be discussed in a later chapter.

GARDENING

241 Gardening consumes more time than any other occupation. On a normal day the adults start off for their gardens about an hour after sunrise and do not return until the middle of the afternoon. The gardens are usually some distance away from the village, sometimes a good hour's walk from the beach, along a narrow footpath through the bush. The reason for making the gardens so far away is that if made in the village the domestic pigs would break into them and eat the taro. Even as it is, the wild pigs do sometimes break in, and fences are always being mended to keep the animals out. [487]

There is no magic in ordinary gardening, but when particularly large crops are desired for special feasts, such as those accompanying circumcision or *malanggan* rites, the planting of the taro is preceded by the making of magic. After the ground is cleared, but before the planting begins, the taro magician makes his magic. Then, if the taro is to be used for an especially large and important feast, the rain magician is called upon to make his magic. A large amount of rain is considered necessary for a good crop of taro.[1] 241 789

The first stage in gardening is the clearing of a piece of bush ground, between six and seven hundred square feet in size, always done by a man, assisted sometimes by his son. This takes about two weeks if a man and his son work every day. Sometimes all the men of the hamlet will assist. For instance, all the men of Penguli helped Noas clear bush ground for a new garden, and a feast was held later in the day in payment for their assistance. First, the trees and brush are cut down and left a few days to dry and then burned; after this the place for the fence is "marked" by putting vine along the ground, and holes are made in which the posts of the fence will later be inserted. These holes are made with a long stick, sharpened to a point. The posts are stuck in and afterward the cross-pieces of the fence are laid. Bamboo is the most common material used for fences. Vine is used to tie the logs to the posts. When the ground is completely cleared and the fence finished, the garden is ready to be planted. 241 417 [476]

Planting is the woman's task, and taro is the chief crop. Very few yams are planted in Lesu, but in other villages (Logagon, Lossuk, etc.) yams are planted along with the taro in large quantities. But even here taro remains the staple 244

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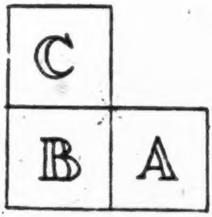
[1] In an exceptionally dry season taro may be transplanted to moist ground along a river. Then if rain should come it may be moved back again to its original place.

244 crop. The men mark the ground where the taro is to be
planted with long, pointed sticks, then the women (usually
a woman and her daughter) make holes in the ground, also
with a pointed bamboo stick, and one taro stalk or cutting
is put in each hole, the earth about the hole being patted
down with the stick. The whole garden is planted in this
fashion. Sometimes a woman will allow a couple of other
women to plant in her garden. In this case small plots are
allotted to them and the boundary of each marked by bam-
boo poles. It may be that one woman is waiting while her
husband clears ground for a new garden. In return, the
woman will usually give some baked taro to the husband of
the woman owner of the garden. Women sometimes assist
[476] each other in the garden work. Pulong works frequently in
the garden of Maralis, her sister-in-law, and Maralis returns
the service by working in Pulong's garden. It takes about
ten months before the crop of taro is ready to be harvested.
In the interim the women weed the ground and pull out
any extra shoots, so that all the strength goes into the
remaining one.

244 251 When the crop is ready to be harvested the taro is dug up by the women with the same pointed stick they used in the preliminary operations. The outer layer of dirt is scraped off the taro, which is then piled in the baskets and carried home by the women. If it is not for immediate consumption, i.e. if it is to be kept a day or two in anticipation of a feast, it is hung on poles stretched between trees, or placed on long benches constructed of bamboo poles for this purpose. The hanging on poles is the more usual way.

244 After a crop has been harvested, the land lies fallow for from six to ten years.

A man and his wife will usually have several gardens at one time. While the woman works in one, her husband will be clearing ground for a new one next to it, and frequently three gardens will be in process at one time. 244 One will be ready to harvest, another is being planted, and a third is being cleared of the dense bush. The following diagram illustrates one woman's gardens:



PLAN OF GARDENS

A is the old garden, where the daughter is pulling the ripe taro.
B is the new garden which she is planting.
C is the garden where her husband is clearing the ground.

The whole family is thus working at one time. The gardens penetrate farther and farther into the bush, although eventually after a sufficient period of time the planting is at the original places. Much pride is taken in the gardens, and whenever I visited them the women showed me around very proudly.

It has already been noted that the produce is the property [422] of the person who plants it. The woman regards the taro as hers, and with it she feeds her family. Parents and children, when they are old enough, all work together in the gardens. At times a married woman will assist her mother, or two sisters or other close kin will help each other. A man is always expected to give assistance in the gardens of his relatives by marriage.

FISHING

Fishing is a purely masculine occupation. But while 226 every man fishes, some are known to be more skilled

226 than others, and every man does not own a fishing-net. In the hamlet of Penguli it is Tukan who has the best reputation as a fisherman, while Ongas, who admits his lack of skill, is noted for his adeptness in house-building.

The time of day for fishing varies and depends upon the tide. If the tide is low during the early morning, that is the time for fishing. But when the tide does not recede until night, the reef and jutting points of land are lighted with fires, and some of the fishermen carry burning faggots with them so that they may the better see to ensnare the fish.

Fishing is carried on in a variety of ways: By a large group with nets (*uben*)[1] and spears; the setting of traps (*andak*), and the use of baskets to remove the fish from the traps; with the special outfit used to catch sharks; by the methods peculiar to the catching of a sea-worm, *beta*, which comes once a year.

The commonest method is with the *uben* and spear (*rur*). The latter is a bamboo pole with a pronged end. The *uben* consists of two parts—two bamboo poles with nets stretched across them.

[789] Magic must be made over a new *uben*, but there is no magic connected with its use, after the initial magic has been made. No magic is made over the spear. Fishing with the *uben* and spear requires a group of men, and on a good fishing day most of the men of the village will be out in the sea on a joint fishing expedition. One such expedition consisted of thirty men. Eight men had *ubens* and the remainder had spears. It was the older or middle-aged men who had the *ubens*, while the younger ones had spears. (It is expensive to have an *uben* made.) Close to the little totemic land, Jenusa, off the coast of Lesu, the men stood in water up to

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[1] *Uben* is a word for net from another dialect, but is used universally over the island. *Kek* is the word in the Lesu dialect.

their waists in circular formation. The position was about like this:

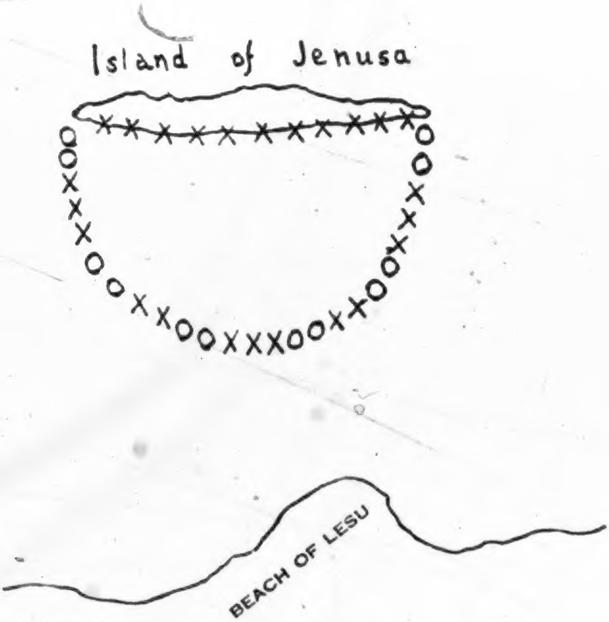

DIAGRAM OF MEN FISHING WITH NETS AND SPEARS OFF THE REEF

O—Men with *ubens* (nets)
X—Men with spears

The men with the *ubens* were in the water, while those with the spears were all on the beach of Jenusa, at the edge of the water. All stood quite still until fish were sighted, then Lungow cried out "*lärupke*" (plenty of little fish), and immediately all closed in on them. Sometimes the men with the spears shoved the fish into the nets; sometimes they caught them on the spears, and frequently the fish were caught with the *ubens* without being shoved in by spears. Whoever sees the fish first cries out. In addition to the call given above, "*lu äl*" or "*utsilé*" are used. These refer to different kinds of fish. A man usually keeps the fish he catches for himself, 226 his wife and children, sister, and wife's relations. However, if one man has a very small catch and another a big one, the latter gives the former some of his fish. If a feast is being held for any occasion, some of the fish, or sometimes all of them, are contributed to whoever is holding the feast. Frequently, if the weather and tide permit, fishing immediately precedes a feast.

Another fishing method is by means of a trap (*andak*), which is built in rather shallow water off the reef by piling up stones and coral. Crevices are left between the stones and coral through which the fish can swim, but once in they are not able to swim out. The trap is left for a month, and at the end of that time the men come with baskets and spears, remove the stones and coral, and catch the fish in the baskets as they swim out of the *andak*. Sometimes they are speared rather than caught in the baskets. Traps are made only by men, and no magic is said over them, or connected with this type of fishing. A man frequently makes two or three traps at once, and when the time comes to open them up, usually before a feast, five or six men will catch the fish as they come out, and the fish belong to all of them.

Occasionally fishing is done with line and hook. The line, fastened to a bamboo pole, is made from a vine, to which is attached a hook of tortoise-shell. A small crab is the bait. Magic is made over a new line. This kind of fishing was more frequent in the past than it is to-day, and now the line is one purchased from a trade store.

A sea-worm, called *beta*, which comes out of the sea once a year, is caught by special methods. The natives know about which moon it is to be expected, and what the condition of the tide should be for its arrival. On the occasion witnessed the *beta* appeared on September 20th, about 10 p.m. According to the natives this was a month earlier than usual.[1] For a month before the appearance of the *beta* 226 the children play a game called *tipuli*, which is almost the [526] exact equivalent of our tug-of-war. The "rope" is a heavy vine from the bush, and the children at each end pull until one side gives way. A few nights before the *beta* is expected the adults also engage in this game, playing it a bit more seriously than the children, for whom it sometimes becomes a frolic. The natives say that the game symbolizes the pulling in of the *beta* from the sea.[2]

The *beta* was sighted by a young girl who, with other children, was on the reef that night looking for shell-fish. She cried out that the *beta* had come, and immediately there was much excitement. Everyone, men and women, rushed to the beach and out to the reef with their baskets, where they stayed for several hours gathering in the *beta*. When finally all the worms had been gathered in the baskets, everyone went to bed exhausted. But at daybreak they were up and bathing in the sea. They said that if they did not [515] bathe in the sea after taking in the *beta*, their bodies would be marked with rings similar to those on the *beta*. On this occasion they should have bathed the night before, as soon as they finished getting in the *beta*, but they were too tired then, and had gone directly to bed, postponing the bathing until daybreak.[3]

The day following the catching of the *beta* was a busy one. 527

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[1] The same marine annelid is found in other parts of the Pacific, particularly in the Samoan, Tongan, and Fijian groups. In Fiji it is called the *mbalolo*, and is found in October or November. These two months take their names from it, October being known as *Little Mbalolo*, and November as *Great Mbalolo*. Thompson, Basil, *The Fijians*, 1928. London, Wm. Heineman, pp. 324–327.

In a similar way at Lesu the names for certain months take their name from the *beta* (see p. 290).

[2] Because the *beta* appeared earlier than expected, the adults had not played the game of *tipuli*, and the children had only been playing it for four days.

[3] Ambwa, the next village, had no *beta*, for no one had sighted it. Having come a month earlier than expected, they had no look-out for it.

527 It had to be cooked and taro had to be prepared to be eaten with it. Late in the day the men carried the baked *beta* and taro to the cemetery, where they had a feast. The women ate the *beta* on the beach, or at home, wherever they happened to be, and not in any communal fashion. It was considered a great delicacy and much enjoyed. Its appearance, catching, cooking, and eating was a noteworthy occasion in the everyday life of the community.

226 789 834 Shark-fishing is set off from other fishing because magic is a very integral part of it, because it is surrounded by many sexual taboos, and because it is a dangerous undertaking. A man is supposed to be sexually continent for a month before he goes shark-fishing, and should his wife be pregnant he cannot go at all. Four or five men may go out on an expedition, but only one man, the leader of the expedition, makes the magic, which is supposed to be effective for all of them. If a man does not know the proper magic he will pay another who does know it to lead the expedition for him. The shark belongs to the leader, and the others are paid with *tsera* for their share in the enterprise.

226 789 The implements for catching the shark are a large rattle made of shells, a *kut*, which is a curved piece of wood with a loop of rope in the centre, through which the shark is held fast, and a thick stick made of hard wood, *gula*, used to knock it over the head. While essential, these are only a part of the equipment. It is magic which is used to inaugurate the expedition and in every succeeding stage.

Very early in the morning the man who knows the shark magic brings his canoe to that part of the beach where there are no houses, and there places it on the sand lengthwise, with the outrigger seaward. He then makes a little fire on the beach by the side of the canoe, passes the *bungla* leaf through the fire, and recites a spell as he moves the leaf slowly over the canoe.

This particular shark magic came from Medina, and before that from Tabar, both different languages from Lesu. The spell itself is therefore in a very strange combination of all three languages, and as I knew but one of the languages I was only able to get a very free translation.

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> "Leaf, leaf, take away taboo" (repeated many times), followed by a muttered cry sounding like *kurkur kukukukuku*, which is supposed to be the shark saying that he cannot come because the man has eaten taboo food (i.e. food given to him by, or eaten in company with, a pregnant woman). Then, "Who has eaten the taboo food?" is supposed to be asked by the man. In answer he then calls out the names of little sharks (*kambilo*, *panduai*, *wasarasara*, *jaukabing*), who he says have eaten the taboo food. If these little sharks should come up, he will not catch them, but will wait for the big shark. When he has finished repeating the spell, he puts the leaf inside the canoe, which he covers with coconut leaves, and it remains like this all day. The spell and the rite are supposed to rid the man of the bad effect of having eaten with a pregnant woman, or having taken food from her, by transferring the act to the little sharks mentioned in the spell.
>
> During the day his wife fills up the bamboo pole with drinking-water and places it in the canoe.
>
> Late that afternoon the man takes a bunch of *tsil* leaves, dips their tips into the sea, bites off the tips, spits them out, and then, standing close to the canoe, strikes it with the leaves at intervals, saying:
>
> Leaf, make many shark come up.
> Many shark come. I go after them.
> Shark, you come close to me.
> Lauwemba (name of passage where shark is
> supposed to come),
> I want to go close to you.
> I go now, I come close to you (shark).

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The spell is repeated several times, always mentioning the name of a different "passage." The *tsil* leaf is now put on the sand under the canoe.

The magician now goes home and eats his evening meal, prepared by his wife. He goes to bed soon after he has finished eating and gets up the next morning before sunrise. Previous to this he has taken to the bush a large stone (about twelve inches long, eight inches wide, and four inches high) which he has found in a "passage" of water. This is just an ordinary stone, covered with green seaweed when it is in the water, but after it has been taken to the bush and a spell said over it, it becomes invested with the spirit of the shark, *tanuan beii*, spirit shark.

The magician also takes with him into the bush a small shell called *Pitun*, which is found on the banks of a river, and not on the seashore. One side, called *lauat*, represents the head of a small shark, and the other, called *balum balum*, the head of a big shark. (But to my eye there was no difference in the sides of the shell.) In one hand he carries the shell, and in the other a piece of long grass or weed called *Pelis*, which he puts around his middle finger, and in the same hand he carries a *goragora* leaf. He comes to the stone, *tanuan beii*, in the bush, and crouching in front of it he blows and says the following spell:

> catch catch shark
> shark comes up sun comes up
>
> *kitsisitsitsit sit sit sitsitsitsi*
> a call made also when shark is sighted.

This spell is repeated four times.

Then he scrapes the stone with the shell and puts the dirt which falls off into the *goragora* leaf, folds the leaf over, and ties it with the weed *Pelis*. This dirt wrapped

inside the leaf is also supposed to be the shark's spirit, 226
or *tanuan beii*. 789

Now he crouches again in front of the stone and puts both hands to his breast, one hand clasps the folded leaf and the other the shell; he rises slowly, sinks down again, and then sways slowly from side to side, still with bent knees, and says the following spell:

(suppose) I come up along passag
you (shark) come up
I am ready with rope you come up
I come up to the tree, you come up
(tree sticking up in water)
I come up to (name of big fish not shark)
you come up
I come up to sea bird, you come up
(suppose) sun comes up, you come up
(suppose) I come up to little trees
you come up

Then, still with his hands in the same position, he turns around and goes through a queer dancing step with bent legs.

The shell and the folded leaf are put in the canoe, and it is thought that the spirit shark, *tanuan beii*, is in the leaf, and thus accompanies him on the fishing trip.

Now he paddles out in the canoe. When he comes to 226
the point of land jutting out to the sea he takes a previ- 789
ously prepared leaf and says a spell over it. The leaf is 831
the *goragora* leaf, and inside of it is a *wula* leaf and a small stalk two or three inches long from a banana tree. The *wula* leaf represents the vagina and the banana stalk a penis, or rather they are supposed to be the spirit or *tanuan* of the vagina and penis, and these being wrapped together inside the leaf symbolize the act of copulation. The magician takes this small leaf bundle, says a spell

226 789 831 over it, dips it into the sea, passes it between his legs under his testicles, and then "drinks" it. After this he throws it away. The "drinking" is supposed to rid him of the bad effects of taking food from a pregnant woman or of having eaten with one.[1] The spell contains the wish that many fish come up.

226 789 Now the magician paddles for some time and prepares the rope of the *kut*, to catch a shark. He also takes with him in the canoe the red leaf, *bang*. He dives from the canoe into the water and washes himself, to take away any dirt, and then, standing up in the water and holding on to the canoe with one hand, and with the leaf *bang* in the other, he recites the following spell:

Leaf (make shark) die
leaf (shark) you come up
leaf send shark
(this addressed to the spirit shark).

Then he throws the leaf into the sea and gets back into the canoe. Now he continues paddling. A shark is seen and the man gives the call *tsitsitsi*, then takes a dead fish fastened on a bamboo rod (a fish caught the day before and taken with him in the canoe) and puts the line with the fish on the end through the loop of the rope of the *kut*. He calls out "lauat," the name of the small head of the shark on the shell, but the shark does not rise to the bait and remains uncaught for the present. Then the man takes the *tsil* leaf which he has put into the canoe, dives overboard again and washes himself, stands up and says a spell with the *tsil* leaf in his hand. The spell contains the same idea that he must rid himself of the bad effect of having eaten with pregnant women, and his washing is a rite to attain this end. 226 789

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[1] Note that most of the magic connected with shark-fishing is designed to get rid of the bad effect of eating with pregnant women or accepting food from them. I asked the magician why he eats with them, or takes food from them. He replied that it could not be helped. In casually strolling about the village one gives him a betel-nut, another a baked taro, etc. The magic is not supposed to make this food come out as faeces, but to remove the bad effect.

Now he gets back into the canoe and paddles on. Again he tries to catch the shark with the dead fish as a bait, and this time he succeeds. The shark comes through the loop, which the man pulls tightly, then he knocks the fish on the head with the *gula*, or thick stick. The shark is now dead. The man paddles back, and landing on the beach blows his conch shell to announce that he has returned with the shark. Later, it is wrapped in leaves and baked in the *liga*, and then there is a feast, as usual, in the cemetery. The shark is considered very choice food.[1]

COOKING

252 Cooking is an occupation of prime importance, and considered as such by the community. Although the men participate in several tasks connected with it, and although they prepare certain foods, it is essentially the women's work. It is usually done communally, and always so before ritual events, such as birth, initiation, marriage, death feasts, and the numerous minor ritual feasts. The group may range from ten to two hundred women, perhaps those of one or two hamlets, or all the women of several villages. Besides the communal cooking before ritual feasts, there is also the frequent communal cooking by the women of a hamlet, or sometimes two neighbouring ones. This is the normal way

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[1] Shark-fishing is not being practised at present in the district where I lived. Farther up the coast shark-fishing expeditions are still being held, but I was unable to get there. The above account was given to me by the man who was known as the magician for shark-fishing and who had formerly led expeditions from Lesu. It was supplemented and checked with other accounts. [178]

252 for the evening meal to be prepared, but sometimes, particularly if a woman has come home from the gardens rather late in the afternoon, she may, assisted by her daughter, cook separately from the others. This appears to be a matter of choice, and is dependent upon the time of the day and other conditions, such as how tired she is, and how the rest of the women feel.

252 343 Each hamlet has its recognized communal cooking-place, which is generally an open clearing in the centre. In addition many of the hamlets have a cook-house for use in rainy weather. This house is without walls and is merely a bamboo fence two or three feet high enclosing a space with a thatched roof above. For a big intervillage rite, a large cook-house is erected specially for the occasion. The non-communal cooking is done either in the woman's own house or in front of it.

252 The manner of preparing the food is the same whether it is done singly or in a group. All food is baked. The men share in the preparations by making the *liga*, a pile of hot stones in which the baking is done; by bringing in the leaves in which the food is to be wrapped, and which serves to cover the *liga*. They also uncover, or level, the *liga* when the food has been baked. The young boys assist in this work.

On a stroll through the hamlets in mid-afternoon of an average day one sees a group of women and girls sitting on the ground surrounded by their baskets, bunches of taro, bundles of leaves, and hollow bamboo stems filled with water (or discarded bottles from some plantation). The men will have brought firewood from the bush, made a fire, and heaped up stones on top of the burning wood. A fire is usually [372] started with a burning log from another fire, but if necessary two pieces of wood are rubbed together to produce fire. A few men and boys will be bringing in leaves for the final covering of the *liga*, and if there is fish or pig, the men will be off on one side preparing it to be baked. The father or

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grandfather, or a boy of ten or so, will be looking after the babies. It is not unusual at this time to see a man lying on the sand playing with his child or grandchild, or a young boy walking about with an infant sister or brother on his back. The mother of the child stops her work only to nurse the child if it cries.

The woman industriously prepares the taro. First she cuts the taro off the stalk with a sharp shell called *tsip*, which comes from Tabar, and piles the taro on the ground close to where she is sitting. Then she cuts off the top so that the taro is flat and scrapes all the skin off with the *tsip*. The result is a smoothly scraped, clean taro. The tops and skin are put aside in a basket to be fed to the pigs later. Sometimes the taro are left whole, and at other times halved. They are wrapped in leaves, the outer layer consisting of large leaves, and inside of this are smaller ones, and then another large leaf. About ten taro are laid on the leaves, a little water sprinkled over them, and the outer leaves wrapped around them. This bundle (*til*) is tied with the *tua* vine. Sometimes shredded coconut is sprinkled over the taro, and the bundle is then called *ginu* (the name for coconut is *nu*). As the woman finishes each bundle it is placed in a row on the ground beside her. By the time the taro is all prepared (in a few hours) the stones are hot. Then the men level the *liga* with long bamboo poles, shoving the hot stones to one side. The women place the bundles of taro on the bottom layer of hot stones, and the men, still using the bamboo poles, cover them with more hot stones. After all the stones have been placed over the taro, a large mass of leaves is put over the pile, and it is smothered with sand. It is left like this for several hours, sometimes overnight if there is no hurry for the food. When the taro is to be removed, it is again the work of the men to level the *liga* and take away the hot stones with their bamboo poles. Each woman remembers just where she has placed her bundles of taro when she removes them.

252 The stones are put in a heap and saved for the next cooking-time.

After the taro is all in the *liga*, the women sweep the ground on which they have been sitting, throwing all the debris into the sea. When the place is spick and span, they sit down and a leisurely sociable time begins for them. In the meantime a few loose taro are being baked separately in little fires. When baked these are again scraped, beaten with a stick, washed in the sea, and left there for about half an hour. The women munch them as they sit and chat while the big bundles are in the *liga*. They are relaxed, and there is lightness and ease as they casually exchange the latest gossip, tell a joke, or chat about the doings of their children. On one such occasion much merriment was caused by Maianbaum playfully stealing a pawpaw from Kuta. The two women laughingly pretended to fight over it, and Maianbaum succeeded in retaining the fruit. Then she forced Kuta to take some of it from her. All the women laughed heartily as they looked on.

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571 The communal cooking, whether it is by the women of a hamlet or of two villages, is a distinctly sociable occasion. It is the get-together time for the women. In the gardens they work alone, or with one or two members of their immediate family. Their meals are held with the family. But when they cook, that is the time they meet the other women of the community, and when the preparations are finished, they have the opportunity to gossip, chat, and lightly amuse themselves. It might be compared to the old-fashioned quilting bee of our civilization, which was likewise a sociable occasion, except that the cooking is more frequent—almost every day.

252 There are several other ways of preparing taro, although the one described is the most common. Another kind is called *tsoki*. The skin of the taro is scraped off in the same manner as described above, then the scraped taro is grated

on the edge of a sharp-pointed stick into a kind of trough, 252 made of the hollowed branch of a coconut tree. The result is as if the taro was put through a coarse meat-grinder. Then the taro is kneaded or worked with the hands and mixed with water and shredded coconut, as if it were a batter. Two layers of long leaves are laid on the ground, shredded coconut put on them, and on top of that the well-kneaded batter patted smooth with the *tsip* (shell). It is the men who do the wrapping in the leaves. When the bundle is ready it is baked in the *liga*.

The coconut for this or any other taro may be shredded by either men or women.[1] The outside skin of the coconut is removed, and it is cut in half and the liquid drunk or used to sprinkle over taro. The half coconut is then rubbed on a pointed stick, the shredded coconut falling into a trough in which the lower end of the pointed stick rests.

Another method is to lay the scraped taro, halved, on banana leaves, sprinkle shredded coconut over it, with a little water; put another layer of taro, coconut, and water, and so on for several layers. The whole is then wrapped in leaves, tied with vine, and baked in the *liga*.

A specially prepared taro is called *Rota*, and is used at birth rites and sometimes at mortuary rites, when it has been prepared in advance. The inside of the taro is scooped out, [251] and the resulting baked taro is very hard and brittle. It is hung up in the house to dry and kept there for many months, and it appears to last indefinitely. Not all women know how to prepare it, and the few who are skilled at it are known for this skill and acquire prestige from it. Everyone will tell you that Kuta knows how to prepare the *Rota*, and when she mentions it there is pride in her voice.

Another way of preparing the taro is to mix it with the

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[1] Taro is never scraped by men. They do not know how to do it, and it is unheard of for any of them to attempt it. This is one of the few absolutely rigid customs. [462]

252 long red fruit *mismis*. The fruit is first baked in the *liga*, then it is taken out and, when cooled, the red juice is squeezed out with the hand and put on banana leaves. In the meantime the scraped taro has been shredded on the point of a sharp stick, and is now mixed with the red juice. The result is similar to a cake or bread dough. It is then wrapped in the banana leaves and baked in the *liga*. The baked product is called *patambia*, and is considered something of a delicacy and much enjoyed.

Tsoandua is still another kind of baked taro. After the taro is scraped deep ridges are made in it, and shredded coconut put in the ridges. Six or eight such taro are wrapped in leaves and baked in the *liga*. Only a few women know how to prepare the taro this way, and they are very proud of their skill. At preparations for one communal feast, when about forty women were present, only three of them knew how to prepare the *tsoandua*. One of the three prepared some of it for another woman. It did not seem to occur to the latter that she might learn how to do it.

Another kind is called *kurapa*. This method is used for specially long taro, which are scraped, halved, and the inside scooped out. The inside is beaten with a stick until it is mealy, mixed with shredded coconut, and put back into the two halves of the hollowed taro, which are then stuck together. Several similarly prepared taro are wrapped together in large leaves and baked in the *liga*. The *kurapa*, while much enjoyed, is not prepared very frequently.[1]

Another occasional way of preparing the taro is to scrape it, then cover the scraped taro with pawpaw and shredded coconut, all of which is wrapped in the leaves and baked in the *liga*. It is interesting to note that there are at least eight methods[2] of preparing taro. Only the first one described is in common use. One, the *tsoki*, has a ritual use. The others are more laborious and are prepared only infrequently. Those who can prepare them are known throughout the community for their skill, and cooking is one way in which a woman gains distinction over her neighbours, just as her husband wins prestige through his skill in fishing or house-building.

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[1] This is like one of our ways of baking a potato, when the inside is also scooped up, beaten, and put back in the shell.

[2] This number I observed and was able to find out about.

Yams are scarce in this part of the island, but when available they are first scraped free of the dirt (but not of skin) and baked in the *liga*. There is no wrapping in leaves. After baking the skin is scraped off and the inside eaten.

Cooking fish is the men's job. The man who catches the fish cleans it of the scales and prepares it for cooking. Long leaves are laid over the fire for a few minutes to dry and to make them "strong." Then the leaves are placed side by side and fastened together with small twigs about one-half inch in length.

The fish are wrapped up in this leaf covering, making an oblong bundle tied at one end with the *tua* vine, then baked in the *liga*,

This work is done by the men while the women are preparing the taro, the two groups sitting a little distance from each other.

All fish are cooked in the same manner, but sometimes, if there are only one or two small fish, they will be laid on a small fire and so cooked.

Small crabs collected by the women and girls from the reef are fastened together by them in a round mass and baked in the *liga*.

Mussel shells (*gem*) are also collected by the women from the reef and the insides taken out, wrapped in leaves, and baked in the *liga*.

Pigs

A pig is killed by tying its snout so that the animal cannot breathe. The entrails are taken out, washed in the sea, and

252 later wrapped in leaves and baked in the *liga* separately. The pig is hung on a pole over a fire to be singed, and a few pieces of burning wood are put inside to make it dry. Later it is taken away from the fire and may be kept like this for several days, awaiting distribution at a feast. When prepared for eating it is wrapped in leaves, securely tied, and baked in the *liga*. There is no other method of cooking pig. It is considered excellent food and is essential for a mortuary and *malanggan* feast.

A type of phalanger occasionally caught in the bush is [301] baked in the same manner as pigs. The teeth are first extracted, however, and used to make a necklace.

Turtle

Turtle is not a part of the everyday diet, but is caught occasionally and usually eaten at a feast. It is always cooked by the men. The turtle is laid on its back and its underneath cover (*bungbunga*) cut off and the entrails taken out. These are wrapped in banana leaves, sprinkled liberally with the blood of the turtle, and baked in the *liga*. It is eaten by the men, although not taboo to women. The men like it too much to give it to the women. The back shell (*kukulsun*) is smeared inside with *lest* (lime) and left [415] in the sun to dry. It is used later to make the scoops (*polok*) for eating coconut and to ornament the *kepkep*.

Beta—Sea-worm

The catching of this worm which comes up out of the sea once a year has already been described. Its cooking is quite an intricate process. First the long *mismis* leaves are sewed together, as in the preparation for cooking fish. On top of the *mismis* leaves is placed a banana leaf, the little *cement* leaves, shredded coconut, scraped taro halved, then the *beta*. On top of it are put more *cement* leaves, more *beta*, more shredded coconut, another layer of taro, then again *beta*,

cement leaves, coconut, taro, and so on for four layers. The 252
outer leaves are then wrapped around it to make a bundle,
which is tied with vine and baked in the *liga*. All the prepara-
tions for the cooking of the *beta*, except the scraping of the
taro, is done by the men. It is eaten by both sexes and much
enjoyed.

In the past snakes were also eaten. They were killed by
beating them on the head, and then cut up, wrapped in
leaves, and baked in the *liga*, and were considered good food.
To-day, however, it would be considered dangerous to eat 262
a snake, because of the part it played in the Garden of Eden 797
story, as told by the missionaries. In some vague and unex-
plainable way the snake is now considered a taboo food, 177
even among unmissionized natives. They may not have
accepted any of the Christian morals or tenets, or even know
much about them, but the snake story they take seriously,
and it is the snake which stands out as a prominent part of
the Fall of Man.

Other Cooking

There is only one leaf, *mutil*, resembling a spinach leaf, 252
which is cooked. Recently some of those who have worked
on a plantation have brought home with them a saucepan,
and the leaf is boiled, together with the milk of the coconut
and the shredded coconut. In the past it was wrapped in
other leaves and baked in the *liga*.

Unripe bananas are buried in the sand for a week. They are left on the stalk and laid in a trench-like hole on the sandy beach and then covered over with sand. The result is a very soft squashy banana, preferred by natives to the raw one. It is prepared in this way for a feast, but on ordinary occasions the raw banana is eaten.

Pawpaws are usually eaten raw, although they are sometimes baked in the *liga*. Other fruits are eaten raw.

In the past these natives were cannibals, but they ate only 266
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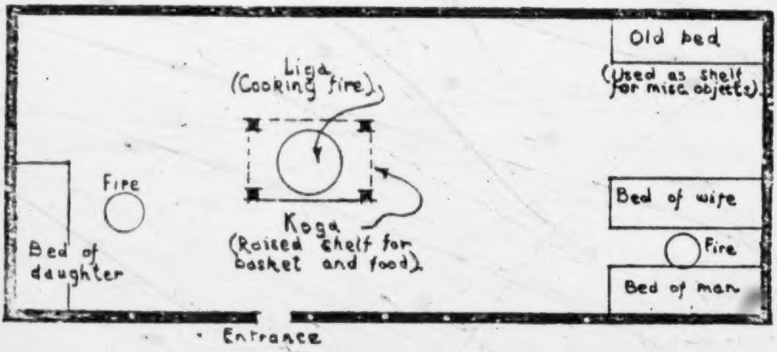
their enemies killed in warfare. I was told that the dead body was wrapped in leaves and baked in the *liga*, just as is other food. The adults who had tasted human flesh said that they enjoyed it, and there appeared, as far as I could ascertain, to be no idea of imbibing any spiritual qualities. It was merely another meat dish.

HOUSE-BUILDING

342 House-building is a masculine occupation, and is carried on whenever it is necessary to build a new house or mend an old one. A house lasts from two to three years, although the roof will have to be mended during this interval. A new house will be built quite close to where the old one stands. Should a man choose, he can move some distance away to another hamlet, although this is not done very frequently. [166] During my visit one man and his wife moved from the hamlet of Onel to Penguli, because the man had quarrelled with his wife's relatives at Onel, and because he wanted to live close to a man who was a good friend of his at Penguli. Since there is no individual ownership of land, a man may build on any unoccupied piece of ground.

Before building a new house a man will first make sure that his gardens are in good condition and that he has plenty of taro with which to feed his assistants. Assured of this, he will go to the bush and cut down some hard-wood trees for posts. Putting the posts in the ground in a straight line is a skilled job and not every man can do it. There were ten men in a village of two hundred and thirty people who were skilled in this. If a man is not able to do it he gets one of these skilled men to mark off the ground in a straight line with a vine and place sticks where the posts are to be put. The future owner of the house will then put up the frame, the posts and cross-beams; then all the men in his immediate community—his own hamlet and near-by ones—assist him in bringing in leaves from the bush for the thatched roof, which they begin to make. Bamboo poles are split into long segments two or three inches in width. The leaves are separated and "sewed" to the bamboo segments. The "thread" used in sewing is the fibre from the leaf. Each thatched layer is piled one on top of another on the ground, and a bit later fastened on the framework of the roof by laying one layer on top of another (beginning from the lower edge of the roof), the tops about four inches apart. They are then tied to the cross-beams of the frame. The man whose house it is will not participate in the work as actively as the others, for he is busy tending the *liga*. His wife has brought in taro from their garden, and she, with the other women of the hamlet, is busy preparing it. At the end of each day's work the owner gives a feast for those who have assisted him, which is considered as payment. The making of the roof takes three or four days, while the collecting of the leaves takes one day, the "sewing" another day, and fastening them on the framework one or two more days.



INTERIOR OF A HOUSE

After the roof is finished the owner works alone, making the walls of flat bamboo segments. Sometimes he will ask other men to help him, and in that case he feeds them as before. The beaten ground is the floor of the house, and the only opening is the door. When the house is completed the

342 owner makes the few necessary furnishings. Beds are made by placing bamboo poles side by side, three feet from the ground. There will be a space of several feet between each bed, and one for each person of the household. Between the [513] bed of the man and wife is the place for the fire, which will keep them warm at night and protect them from insects. (Bed-covers do not exist.) In the centre of the house is the cooking fire, *liga*. Above this place is built a bamboo shelf, [352] *kogo*, to hold baskets and baked taro, or any other household article. A man may eat half of a baked taro and place the remaining half on the shelf for the future when he will be hungry again. As a rule there are no decorations of any [353] kind inside or outside of the house, but there are the usual exceptions, and a few who are skilled may have a bit of carving on the outside.

PIG-HUNTING

224 The wild pig of the bush are hunted by a few men of the community at irregular intervals. Not all men are pig-hunters. To be one, a man must own a dog and either know, or be able to purchase, the magic which is said over a dog to make him effective. This magic is made only once over a new dog, not every time there is a hunting expedition. (In the same way magic is made only once over a new fishing-net.)

A man will start off early in the morning carrying his bamboo spear, accompanied by his own dog, and sometimes by two or three other dogs belonging to different men. The dogs track the pig but do not kill it, unless it should be a baby pig. When the dog has found the pig the hunter comes up and spears him. This, however, will usually only injure the animal and not kill him. If the pig is a small one, the man will fasten it on a bamboo pole and carry it home alone, but if it is big, he will tie up the animal so that it cannot run away, and then return to the village for men to assist him in carrying it. A moderately large pig is carried on a pole resting on the shoulders of two men. A very large one requires four men to carry it. 224 [482]

The pig belongs to the man who has hunted it, but if he has had other men's dogs with him they will receive a portion of the animal.[1]

A type of phalanger is found in the bush and is also hunted. Two men go off to the bush together, and, if an animal is sighted in a tree, one man climbs up while the other waits below. The man up the tree will shake the branch on which the animal is, or, if there is a vine, pull it. As the animal falls down the man below catches it. The two men break the legs of the animal and later at home kill it by strangling.

BASKETRY AND WEAVING

Baskets are of the most simple, crude type, and are merely the plaited leaf of the coconut tree. Both men and women make them, each for their own use. They last but a short time, and then new ones are made. The woman has her own basket in which she carries the produce from the garden. The man will hastily make a basket to carry the remains of food home from a feast. A man will also always have a very small envelope-shaped basket in which to carry his betel-nut, his *lest* (powdered lime), tobacco, pipe, etc. There is no decoration on any of the baskets, and they are all of a temporary and crude type.[2] 285 415 [276]

The only weaving is that of fishing-nets, and this is done by the men only. Not all men can weave the nets, but a few are noted for their skill in it; these few at the present time are old men. The fiber is vine from the bush. One end of the 286

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[1] The pig-hunting is taken from descriptions given to me by men who were hunters. I did not accompany any of them on their hunting expeditions.

[2] But the natives were extremely interested in some rather ornate baskets from Ceylon that I had with me, and examined them with much eagerness.

286 net is held taut on a stick stuck into the ground, the other is fastened on a small twig, which is used as a needle. If a man who does not know how to weave a net wants one, he will collect the vine from the bush and take it to any of the weaving experts, who makes it for one *tsera.* There are eight men in the village who are experts in weaving.

CARVING, WORK IN TORTOISE-SHELL, ETC.

322 The only carved objects are *malanggans* and masks, which are made by specialists who are paid for their work. In the village of Lesu there is just one man who is skilled in this work, and in several other villages there is only one carver. When a *malanggan* is to be made, the man who owns it instructs the carver how it is to be made, and will spend much time with him while the wood is being carved. The work [412] to-day is done with knives purchased at trade stores. In the past sharp stones were used, and the natives say that the carving is better since it has been done with knives. It is [784] taboo for anyone except the man who owns the *malanggan* to watch the carver at work. The latter enjoys no special prestige because of his skill. In Lesu the carver, Kanua, is a nonentity in village life aside from the work of carving. In Medina, on the other hand, the carver, who is an old man, [554] enjoys much prestige, but he is a man of real knowledge of *malanggans* and folk-tales and an important man in his clan.

321 Tortoise-shell work is also confined to a few, and is done with a knife, where formerly it was done with a stone. The only objects made are the decoration for the *kepkep* and the *polok* for scooping out coconut. The latter are not made very frequently now.

396 The building of canoes is almost a lost art on this part of the island. No new ones were made while I was there, and the few in existence were small dugout canoes with an outrigger, but with no carving. They were more like children's 491 canoes. The road which runs south from Kavieng a hundred

and forty miles has provided a way of transportation which 491
makes canoes unnecessary.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The work described in the preceding pages has been done 571
both by individuals and by groups. The main occupations, 476
gardening, fishing, cooking, and hunting, all require some
form of co-operation. In the gardening it is the members of 182
the immediate family, a man and his wife and children, who work together in the tilling of the ground. Each has his allotted task, the man the clearing of the ground, the woman the planting, etc. The group is enlarged when the man assists his wife's relatives in the clearing of the ground, or the woman works in her sister's garden, or a man calls on the men of the hamlet to help him build a fence. Fishing is also a communal occupation for the men, as is most of the cooking for the women. The size of the group will vary for both these occupations. In fishing it will depend upon the method used and the importance of the event for which the fish are being caught. In cooking, occasionally a mother and her daughter will prepare the evening meal alone, but more frequently it will be all the women of the hamlet, and if the preparations are for a big ritual feast all the women of the village and neighbouring villages will participate. House-building is also co-operative, male members of the family and hamlet helping each other. When the enclosure in which the boys are circumcised was built, all the men of the village helped and all the women cooked for the feast which followed. Members of the same clan help each other, particularly in the financing of the rites.

The organization of this work thus fits into the social structure of family, clan, hamlet, and village. Kinship and locality, two of the determining factors of the social structure, are equally important in setting the frame for the organiza-

571 tion of work. The third determining factor, sex, acts in the
476 same way, the sexual division of labour being most marked in
182 its organization. The social organization thus provides the mechanism for the necessary co-operation, for it is kinship, locality, and sex which determine who participates in a given task.

The work is initiated to fulfil certain needs, such fundamental necessities as food and shelter being most important. Other needs not so strictly biological are those connected with ritual and social events, including the accumulation of food, the building of houses, and the making of carvings and masks.

The actual initiation of the work is by those who experience the need. In the communal or village work, connected with the *malanggan* and circumcision rites, it is the man or men who are making the *malanggans* for their dead relatives, and the clan relatives of the boys being circumcised, who initiate all the work connected with these rites. In a similar way it is the man whose house leaks, or whose garden fence needs to be rebuilt, who initiates the building, in which the members of his hamlet will cooperate.

The work is not without its stimuli. Work for one's self brings a reward in the fruits of labour: a catch of fish, a crop of taro, or a new house. Work for others receives payment. We have noted the feasts for the payment of workers on a new house or a garden fence. Women who have prepared food for a communal rite are given food in return. All services, magical and medical, are rewarded. Even those who dance at the mortuary rites and carry the corpse to the grave receive payment. Nothing is ever done for nothing in this community, and payment is one of the stimuli to work. Work by a large part of the male section of the village is aided by singing and festive decorations of the workers. In the building of the enclosure for the initiation of the boys the men's singing and their floral decorations were noted.

Corresponding to these stimuli there is the sociability and 571
camaraderie among the women who cook communally. 476
There is very little, almost no direction of work. The 182
techniques are well known, and it is not necessary for anyone to give directions to scrape taro or thatch a roof. The work follows the traditional rules learned in childhood. A certain direction or organization occurs in fishing, when the man who sights the fish gives the call, but this could hardly be called bossing. This lack of leadership in communal undertakings is quite striking to the observer. One or two men act as masters of ceremonies and make the necessary speeches at these rites, as, for example, Sola and Buibui at the initiation rites at Ponatlege, but there was no one man or woman bossing the communal cooking preparations for these rites. They have been initiated by those most interested, and the work then follows along traditional lines. There is a similar lack of policing at the inter-village rites where hundreds of people are gathered together. By some kind of mutual consent the crowd does not press unduly upon the clearing used as a stage, and are considerate of each other in their desire to see the rites. This holds for rites lasting several days and nights, when both onlookers and participants have had little sleep and are weary. I witnessed many such rites, and never did I see any pushing or quarrelling for advantageous places, such as marks similar crowds in our society.

The newly introduced Government work on the roads is 651
in direct contrast with the native manner of working at
their own occupations. All natives, male and female, are 491
required to give three days a week to work on the road, 466
mending the holes in it and keeping it in good condition.
On these days the "Luluai," Government-appointed chief,
blows his conch shell early in the morning to assemble the
people. They come to the road in front of his house, the
women standing or squatting (squatting on toes the usual [516]
position) in one group apart from the men.

657 491 466 position) in one group apart from the men. The "Luluai" then gives them the directions for the work, telling them what part of the road is to be repaired, and what is to be done, and he divides them into working groups. They then separate to work as directed.

For this road work there is no tradition. The assembling to receive directions is as much an innovation as the work itself. Not only is there no tradition, but there are none of the usual stimuli. It is "forced labour." There is no pay for it, and it is done through fear of the powerful white Government which has subdued them. There is no singing, no sociability, but instead a lack of the usual zest, a sullenness which is completely lacking from native work, and a resentful weariness at the end of the day. It is difficult for a native to understand why he should give half the time which he formerly gave to his gardens and rites to making a road, by which the white men set such a big value.

DISTRIBUTION

437 We have seen how people of Lesu work and what they produce. What becomes of the products of their labour? What is the system of distribution, as opposed to the production just described?

That part of the produce of labour is used for immediate consumption by the worker is obvious. The taro from the garden forms the staple of the daily meals of the man and wife who have planted the garden. The man who initiates the building of a house, working on it himself and paying others for their assistance, lives in the house when it is completed. But production for immediate consumption does not tell the whole story.

There are several different forms of exchange which are part of the system of distribution. (1) Reciprocal exchange between individuals and between groups, when exact equals are exchanged; (2) trade, or the selling of objects for currency, which occurs both between individuals and groups; (3) payments made for services. In all of these there is a form of exchange, but there are also some free gifts which we will first describe. 437

FREE GIFTS

There are a few gifts for which there is no counter gift, 431 i.e. no exact return either in kind or currency is required. These gifts are of food and betel-nuts. The staple articles of food, taro, bananas, coconuts are never sold,[1] and are [438] given to kindred, friends, and strangers passing through the village as an act of courtesy. There is no thought of payment in currency, or a return of the gift, but it is understood that everyone is acting on the same ethical assumption, and so even here there is a kind of reciprocity. If some people from Logagon are passing through Lesu, twenty-five miles away, they will be given food as a courtesy. If the Lesu people were in Logagon the same courtesy would be extended to them. If a man has a large catch of fish, he will partake of it himself and give part to his wife, her relatives, and the remainder to a friend or kin who is having a feast. It is understood that the friend will act in a similar way when the positions are reversed. There are also free gifts between certain kindred. The maternal uncle makes small gifts to his nephews and nieces, and a father and mother will make gifts to their own children. Brothers and sisters and husband and wife also make free gifts of food or betel-nuts and no return is expected. Gifts from a man to the relatives of his fiancée are not in this class, for they are ritual and considered part of a marriage payment. A few of the Lesu people who had been

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[1] An exception to this occurs in times of drought or famine. Then food such as sago may be bought from natives on another part of the island, because there is no taro crop.

431 away to work for the white man in New Hanover—the Rabaul district—said that there they had observed the custom of the sale of food between kin and friends. The New Ireland people regarded this as disgusting, and expressed their scorn in words, tone, and facial expression.

RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE

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Reciprocal exchange is distinguished from trade in that in the former exactly similar objects are exchanged, while in the latter it is dissimilar objects. Reciprocity occurs between individuals and groups. There is reciprocal exchange of food between members of the opposite moieties at birth, first menstruation, circumcision, and marriage rites. At these feasts there are two piles of food, one contributed by the members of the Hawk moiety and the other by members of the Eagle moiety. The uncooked food is arranged in two piles (as at the marriage rites) looking exactly equal, and the food brought by the members of the Eagle moiety is given to the women of the Hawk moiety, and *vice versa.* At a birth feast the baked food is distributed in the same way. The Eagle women bring their taro, prepare it for baking, and place it in the *liga* themselves. They do not forget just where their bundles have been placed. Removing them from the *liga*, they give them to the women of the Hawk moiety. The taro is exactly the same, and prepared in the same fashion, so one gets exactly what one has given. But it is the exchange between members of opposite moieties which is regarded as important. While this exchange is between individuals, it is moiety structure which regulates it, and it is regarded by the natives as an exchange between moieties as well as between individuals. At the circumcision rites we saw also how the exact amounts of betel-nut and *tsera* were exchanged between members of opposite moieties.

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The mothers of the Eagle boys contributed eight *tsera*, 437
which was distributed to the clan relatives of the Hawk boys. 616
Their mothers also contributed eight *tsera*, which was given to the clan relatives of the Eagle boys (see Chapter IV, pp. 112–113.

There are also reciprocal gifts between individuals which 431
have no relation to the moiety structure. In case of a quarrel 437
the rift is mended by an exchange of exact amounts of *tsera*. 518
For instance, there was a quarrel between Brakko and Manumat, who live in different hamlets. Brakko is the daughter of a former chief, now dead, and one of the leading women of the community. Manumat is one of the middle-aged men of the village. Manumat's sister is away working on a plantation on another island, and sent a message to Sigar, a woman of Brakko's hamlet, to come and work there also. Sigar goes and Brakko is very angry, and wants to know who will look after Sigar's garden. The women of the hamlet are very busy and Sigar's departure has upset their work. Brakko's anger is directed against Manumat (Sigar's brother) and angry words are exchanged between them. Their quarrel is witnessed by many of the villagers, who rush to see it, which is in contrast to their polite indifference to quarrels between husband and wife. A few days later Manumat gives Brakko five *tsera* and she gives him another five *tsera*. This reciprocal exchange ends the quarrel, although the final conclusion is not till a month later, when there is a feast, for which Manumat provides the pig. It is assumed that he has been the one to blame, or at least his sister, whose blame he takes.

Then there are reciprocal gifts for which there is no ritual 431
or any other reason, as far as can be observed. These gifts are a portion of a pig. At the usual feast all the pigs are not consumed, and a head, or hind quarter, or some other fairly large portion of the animal, is given by the owner to someone present. This may be a return gift for a similar present which

had been made at a feast six months ago, or it may be a new gift to a man who will return it at some future time. At the feast which Kaptan provided at the mortuary rites of his infant he gave portions of pig to five people who had given pieces of pig to him in the past, and two new gifts to men who will return it in the future. One man, Niknik, who got his portion as a return gift, passed it on (also as a return gift) to another man, Ongas, who in turn gave it to Tsagera, to whom he owed a gift. These gifts are always made ceremonially at the end of a feast. The man making the gift calls the name of the recipient, and the portion of pig is handed to him by one of the "waiters" at the feast. At the funeral feast of the old woman, Maling, Ongas gave portions of a pig to the following people, all of different clans and moieties: A head went to Buma, who had given him a head sometime before. Other portions went to his brother from Ambwa, and to five men from his village because they had accompanied him to Libba for the mortuary rites of his maternal aunt, but this does not absolve them from making return gifts to Ongas in the future. He also gave one section of the pig to Lorinit, at Morow's request. Morow is maternal uncle to Ongas, who makes the payment on behalf of his uncle. It will not be necessary for Morow to return this pig to his nephew. When the relationship is one of maternal uncle and nephew (*Tata-Tsiringi*) real, not classificatory, no reciprocal gift is required. Ongas makes one more gift of pig to his daughter. He makes none to his wife, although she will share in the eating of it. He says he would be "ashamed" to give a section to his wife. As far as I can make out, the "shame" would result from the presentation of these portions of pig in public, as there is never any public demonstration between a man and his wife.[1] This does not apply to the father-daughter relationship, although after the girl has reached puberty there is a very decided lessening of any demonstrativeness. 431

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[1] This is my own interpretation; I was not able to get any native reason for the "shame."

The reciprocity in gifts is no light matter to be set aside. All the force of tradition is behind it, and it is an obligation which must be met, no matter how much time has elapsed since the original gift. So keenly is this felt that a man will be loath to take a gift if he cannot see his way to making a return in the near future. The following incident illustrating this occurred at one feast. A large portion of a pig was given to Tamella, who refused to take it because he doubted his ability to return it. It was then explained that this was not a new gift, but a return gift to Tamella's brother (both men were from another village) who was not present. When Tamella realized that it was a return gift being made to his brother through him, he took it. The discussion was good-natured and accompanied with some laughter, although Tamella was very serious in his determination not to incur any new obligation which he had doubts about fulfilling[1].

As we have seen, the most common object of reciprocal exchange is food, although occasionally it is currency, as

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[1] Some of my own economic transactions illustrated the same point. The chief was quite meticulous in making a return gift, either in objects or service, for everything I gave him, otherwise he would have been "shamed," and I was on reciprocal gift relationship with many other natives. An interesting incident occurred in connection with procuring rain magic. There was just one rain magician in the community, a feeble old man enjoying much prestige. At first he was loath to give me his rain magic, and, as he stayed in his house and was ill most of the time, I did not have much opportunity of cultivating his acquaintance. His son was a youngish middle-aged man, whom I often met at feasts and other village rites. At discreet intervals I sent gifts to the old magician through his son, who knew that I wanted the rain magic. (The old man had also been rather flattered by my asking him to decide a moot point in connection with one of the genealogies.) Finally, after many months, the son came and asked me to come to his father's house and get the rain magic. The opinion of the rest of the village was that it was pretty nearly time for the old man to give me the magic. "Was he," they said, "going to continue taking my gifts for ever and give nothing in return?"

431 in the settlement of a quarrel. It occurs between individuals and groups such as moieties, and the proper time for it to take place is at a feast. Again, it is the social structure which determines in what manner a large part of the exchange is conducted.

TRADE

436 Trading, which likewise takes place at feasts, occurs between individuals and groups, and is based upon the principle of reciprocity. In trading, however, there is a medium of exchange or currency. This is the *tsera*, one unit of which consists of an arm's length of tiny flat shell discs strung together. It is made on a near-by island, Lawongai, north of New Ireland, where I am told there are only a few men who can make it. While making the currency the man must be continent, and he sleeps in a separate house from his wife.[1] There are two kinds of *tsera*, white and red, the latter being twice as valuable as the former. (Some of the white *tsera* is made at Laummasong, in another linguistic district of New Ireland.) Sometimes the two colours will be combined. Attached to the strings of *tsera* are usually dog's teeth and an ornament called *urakembaum*. The teeth are supposed to cry out and attract more *tsera* to it. The *urakembaum*, a small round fibre object, has a mussel shell as an "eye," also supposed to attract more *tsera* to it. A native keeps his currency in a basket in the house (or to-day it may

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[1] I did not have the opportunity of visiting Lawongai, and I was unable to get any information on how the currency was first introduced into New Ireland. As far as I could ascertain, there is no new currency coming in, and the amount now in circulation is not being augmented. However, the Australian shilling is gradually coming in as an additional currency. Boys working on plantations are paid in money, which then gets circulated among other natives. There is now a perfectly stable rate of exchange: one *tsera* is equal to five Australian shillings. I neglected to find out how this rate was arrived at. Large payments are sometimes made in both currencies, although the native one is more used than the introduced one.

be kept in a locked box purchased from a trade store), and it is never displayed except when it is being used in some economic transaction. The following are the native names and value in shillings for the different kinds of *tsera*: 436

Muning: the white *tsera* made at Laummasong; *two* arm lengths are worth five shillings.

Atok: red and white *tsera* mixed, *one* arm length worth five shillings.

Lolul: a half of a unit of *Atok*.

Biäl: red *tsera, one* arm length worth five shillings.

Unless otherwise indicated, when the term *tsera* is used, either *atok* or *biäl* is meant. *Muning* is regarded as of little value and if used double the amount of the *atok* or *biäl* is required.

All objects which are sold have a value in terms of *tsera*. The following is a scale of prices: 435

	Tsera
Large *kepkep* (breast ornament) worn by men	2
Small *kepkep* (breast ornament) worn by women	1
Armband (*biuk*), five of them made of trochus shell and worn at one time by men and women	1
Spear	2
Canoe	4 to 6
Fishing-nets	2
Drum	1
Shark-catching outfit	1½
Pigs—the price varies according to size and sex:	
Large male pig	2 to 4
Female pig	5 to 10

The prices for pigs are not as set as those for the objects listed above. A rich person might pay five *tsera* for a pig for which another man would pay four. The more he pays the more prestige the buyer has. Everyone then knows he is a rich man. On the other hand, the owner of the pig would gain prestige if he sold it for four *tsera* when he might have received five. There is never any bargaining, and the concept of a bargain is unknown in native trade. Most objects have 435 556

435 a scale of value which does not vary, but in the case of pigs,
556 where there is variation, the social incentive is not to pay the least amount, but rather to pay the biggest price and increase one's prestige thereby.

437 Pigs are the most usual objects of trade, and so we will
527 consider their buying and selling in detail. They are almost always purchased in connection with some ritual feast—mortuary, marriage, etc. If it is a very large ritual feast, such as a *malanggan* one, preparations are begun a long time in advance. Perhaps ten months before the rite a preliminary feast will be held to make the arrangements. At this time the buyers and sellers of pigs for the future feast are designated. The man who will buy a pig gives a bundle of baked sago to the man who will later sell it to him. But this does not happen haphazardly at the feast, and for a week before one such feast which I witnessed the men were busy every evening discussing the details of the arrangements.

437 Then months later, when the ritual feast is held, the pigs are there and payment is made for them after the feast is over. When the men come out of the cemetery, where most feasts are held, the sale is concluded before all the men and women of the community assembled in the open compound. The man making the payment holds up a string of *tsera* and makes a short speech, naming the person to whom he is paying it. The *tsera* is held outstretched, one man at each end, so that everyone can see the amount. It is then handed over to the man or woman who sold the pig. Payments for all objects, such as fishing-nets, ornaments, etc., are always made in public in this manner, for which the natives give two reasons. First, everyone has witnessed the transaction and seen that it is all right; secondly, everyone knows what has been paid for the object, and should the owner want to resell it, he must get the same amount. It is a registration of
the transaction. There is thus no buying or selling for profit.
432 Objects are always resold for exactly what they cost, and

profit, as known in our society, does not exist. A man might, if he liked, sell it for less, but never for more. 432

The payment of *tsera* does not end the transaction. The purchase of a pig is itself a reciprocal matter. That is, suppose a man, whom we will call A, buys a pig for the mortuary feast of his maternal uncle from B. A pays *tsera* to B for it in the manner just described. Now at some future time, when a relative of B dies, he will in turn buy a pig from A, to whom he will pay *tsera*. Thus the purchaser of a pig is obligated to sell a pig at some future time to the same person from whom he is now buying. There is thus no class of people who buy as opposed to those who sell. Everyone is in turn both a buyer and a seller. One must not make a mistake in etiquette and ask a man for a return pig before the appropriate occasion, such as a mortuary feast, arises. Even then it is not asked for, but the man brings the pig of his own accord. Not to observe this etiquette is much more than just being in bad form, but outrages all tradition, as is illustrated by the following incident which I witnessed. About a year ago Kadecka sold a pig to Garrili, his wife's maternal uncle, when the latter was making a mortuary feast. The proper time for Garrili to sell a pig to Kadecka would be when Kadecka's mother dies. She is old and feeble and her death is expected. But before it happens Kadecka quarrelled with his wife, Lolo, and in the heat of anger told her to go and tell her maternal uncle Garrili that it was time he returned the pig. Lolo ran away from her husband's house to Garrili's house and told him what her husband had said. Garrili, very much on his dignity, immediately came with a pig for Kadecka. This may sound like a small affair, but not so to the natives. It was as if a cyclone had struck the village. The whole place was in an uproar over what was considered Kadecka's scandalous behaviour. Groups gathered everywhere and denounced him in no uncertain terms. As the pig was there, a ritual feast had to be made for it, and Kadecka 432 576 626

432 576 26 had to borrow the *tsera* from his clan relatives to pay Garrili for the pig. When the feast was ~~held,~~ Kadecka was so ashamed of his hasty action that he stayed in the house most of the time, but all of his relatives and many other people from the village, as well as Garrili, were there. The latter stood up and made a speech, telling how he had been asked by Kadecka for the pig, remarking that he had planned to bring it when Kadecka's old mother died, but Kadecka had asked for it, and so here it was. Then one by one the important old men made speeches condemning Kadecka's action. They asked sternly why Kadecka did not wait until his mother died. He made no defence for his inexcusable action.

The whole affair caused a great deal of gossip, and public opinion was unanimous in condemning Kadecka. A week later he "signed on" when a recruiter for native labour came through the village, and no one expressed any regret when he left. It was obviously an escape from an intolerable social position.

438 435 Besides pigs, other objects, such as ornaments, spears, drums, and canoes, are sold for set prices which never vary, and the payments are made in public. These objects, however, do not form the ordinary objects of trade; first, because sometimes they are inherited, and, secondly, because one such object, like an ornament, a drum, a spear, lasts a lifetime. Pigs, on the other hand, are constantly being sold because they are eaten continually at ritual feasts.

PAYMENTS FOR SERVICES

189 424 434 It is obvious that one cannot accumulate wealth through trading in pigs or any other objects, for there is no profit. But the rendering of services, magical or otherwise, that is another story. The possession of magic is the most important source of wealth. Among these people magic is all powerful

and is used all the time. If you want to catch a woman or 789
pig, the proper magic must be made. If you want to go on a 424
shark-fishing expedition, or to cause the death of your enemy, 434
again the proper magic must be made. What is even more important, from the economic point of view, is that magic is a private possession in the hands of the few, and is performed only for payment. The price for the performance of the 789
various kinds of magic is as follows: 435

	Tsera
War magic	10
Black magic	10
Taro magic	1
Magic to detect black magician	2
Rain magic	2 to 4
Love magic	½ to 1
Abortive magic	½ to 1
Magic over dog to catch pig	2 to 4
Magic over new *uben* (fishing-net)	½
Magic to make a pig fat	½

The power of the magic lies in the spell, which the magician 789.
guards closely. The rite is performed openly for anyone to 424
see, but the spell is muttered so that no one else can learn it. When I received magical spells from informants they had always to be assured of complete privacy, and often a magician would look closely around the vicinity of the house to make sure that no one was within hearing distance. The knowledge of the spells is a source of income, and should the knowledge become widespread the income would dwindle.

The rule for the acquirement of magical knowledge is that [602]
it comes from the maternal uncle, but as a matter of actual practice—from accounts of all the magicians questioned—it 791
was received more frequently from the father, and sometimes the mother. The magician, when quite old, will teach his maternal nephew or son the spell, and the latter makes a payment for it. This initial cost is soon covered by a few performances, and after that there is pure profit, and a more

791 or less continuous source of income for the magician. In
addition to this material advantage, his prestige is augmented,
although a man could not rise to a position of great prestige
merely because of his magic. A magician, although always
791 perfectly sincere in his belief in the efficacy of his magic, is
522 occasionally not above a little scheming in his profession.
For instance, at the time of the wedding of Tsuros, Towi,
her maternal grandfather, paid Niknik to make magic
insuring a clear day for the rites. Niknik made the magic,
but Teluk, a rain magician from the neighbouring village
of Kabil, came and made magic to bring rain on the day of
the rites in the hope that Towi would then pay him to get
rid of the rain by another magical spell. But Towi had
exhausted his finances, and Teluk was not asked to make
magic for a clear sky. In discussing it everyone thought the
joke was on Teluk, and they were much amused. Incidentally,
it did rain the day of the rites, which thus had to be shortened.

MEDICAL SERVICES

757 Closely akin to the payments for magic are the payments
759 for medical services. Medical treatment consists mostly in
the use of certain leaves and roots, both internally and
externally, and occasionally magic too is connected with it.
There is one difference, however, between the payment for
medical and magical services. For the latter, the magician
is always paid when he makes the spell, and the payment is
in no way affected by whether the desired end is obtained
or not. But for the medical service payment is delayed until
the efficacy of the medicine is proven and should the patient
fail to recover no payment is made. The scale of payment
varies with the medicine, which for the ordinary ills, such as
swellings, stiff neck, headache, stomach-ache, for continuous
urination (infant), pain in the shoulder, and to produce
abortion, usually costs one *tsera*. Medicine to make a newly

born infant strong costs two or three *tsera*. For a man with a large family this is a big expense. Tsenagali, the man who now owns this medicine, told me what a heavy expense it was for him each time his wife bore a child. He has a large family, four children, and finally he went to his wife's father, who knew the medicine, and for a payment learned it from him. After that Tsengali could make the medicine when his wife had a child. He is also now paid to make it for other people's infants. In the payment for medical services there is the same lack of the concept of a bargain, and the same desire to overpay and so gain additional prestige, as there is in trade in pigs. When Ongas' wife was ill, the "doctor" had made a spell over powdered lime and then rubbed it over her body and given it to her to smell. It was supposed to have been effective, for she recovered. Ongas made his payment in shillings to the "doctor," giving him five shillings. The latter thought this too much and wanted to return two shillings, saying that three were enough; but Ongas refused to take them back and insisted that the "doctor" keep the five shillings.[1] 757 759

Medical knowledge is guarded as secretly as are magical spells, and is regarded as a source of income in exactly the same manner. The knowledge of what leaf or root to use, together with any accompanying spell, is inherited for a payment from the maternal uncle or father, or it may be purchased purely as a trade transaction, as was Tsengali's purchase from his father-in-law. 424

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[1] On the occasion of the same illness, my servant, Kuserek (from another village), had prepared a leaf medicine for the ill woman. There was no magic connected with it. Ongas wished to pay one shilling to Kuserek for it, but she refused to take it, saying that the ill woman had given her much taro in the past. Kuserek seemed to think that her medicine was a kind of payment for the past gifts of taro.

--1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

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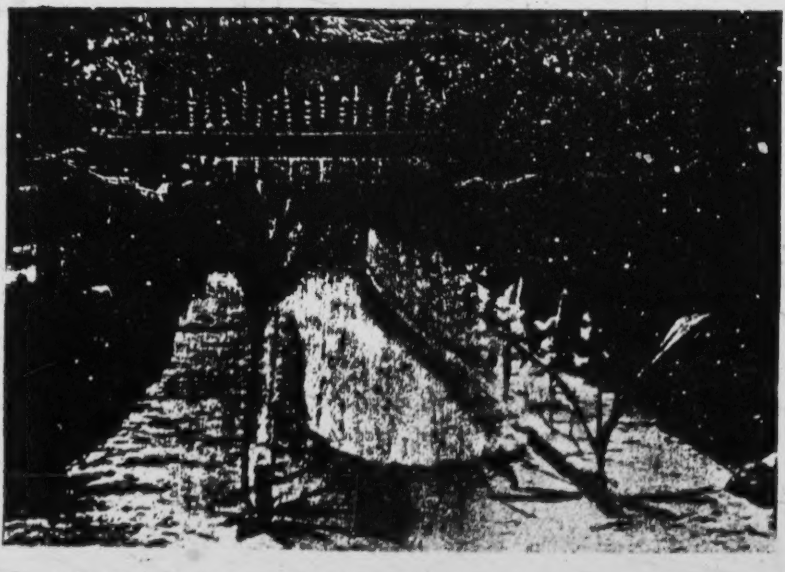
WORKING IN THE GARDEN

OVO



MALANGGAN WHICH WAS SOLD AND ITS DECORATIVE SETTING

[facing p. 208]

OTHER SERVICES

465 342 437 Besides magical and medical services, there are many others for which payment is made. Compensation is made for services of any kind. For instance, one man wanted to put a new roof on his house as the old one leaked. He spent a day in the bush collecting the necessary sago leaves, and the next day all the men from his hamlet and some from neighbouring ones helped him make the thatching. At the end of the day he gave them a feast and each man also received a stick of tobacco. Both the food and the tobacco are considered as payments for the assistance in thatching the roof. A few days later his father and brother helped him put the thatched leaves on the frame of the roof. This work took two days. There was no feast at the completion of the job, but each man received tobacco in payment. Similar payments are made for building a fence around a garden.

465 535 437 Those who participate in the dances at marriage, circumcision, and funeral rites receive payment. The dancers at *malanggan* rites, however, are not paid, except those who wear masks (*anis*). At the circumcision rites all the women who danced received food and tobacco from the women of Ponatlege, who were the mothers and clan relatives of the boys being circumcised.[1] When the food was distributed there was a speech indicating that it was in payment for the contribution of dancing. At the marriage rites of Tsuros all the dancers received tobacco and food. A few were given loin-cloths also. It will be remembered that at one of the rehearsals for these dances, when the women were laughing and not taking their dancing very seriously, they were reprimanded by an old man, who told them to dance better or they would not deserve the tobacco to be paid them later. At the all-night

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[1] At the rites a month later, when the boys came out from their seclusion and the *malanggans* were displayed, the men who danced (with the exception of those wearing masks) were not paid.

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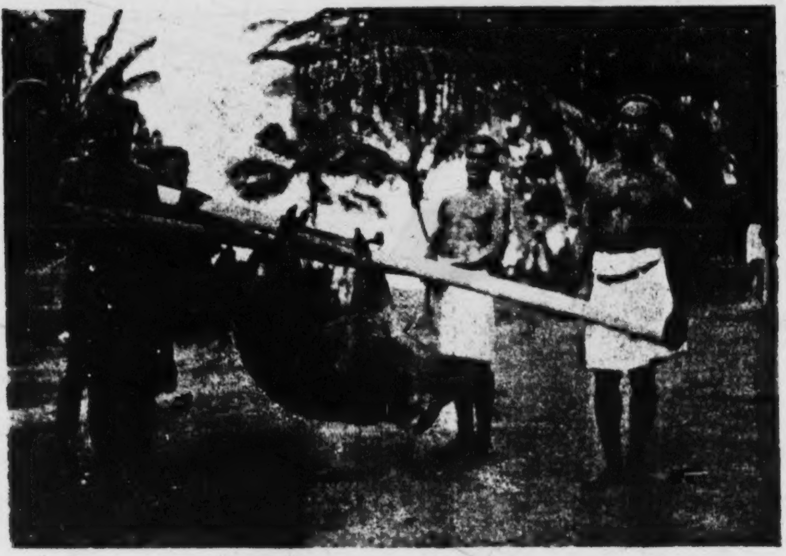

THE CAPTURED WILD PIG

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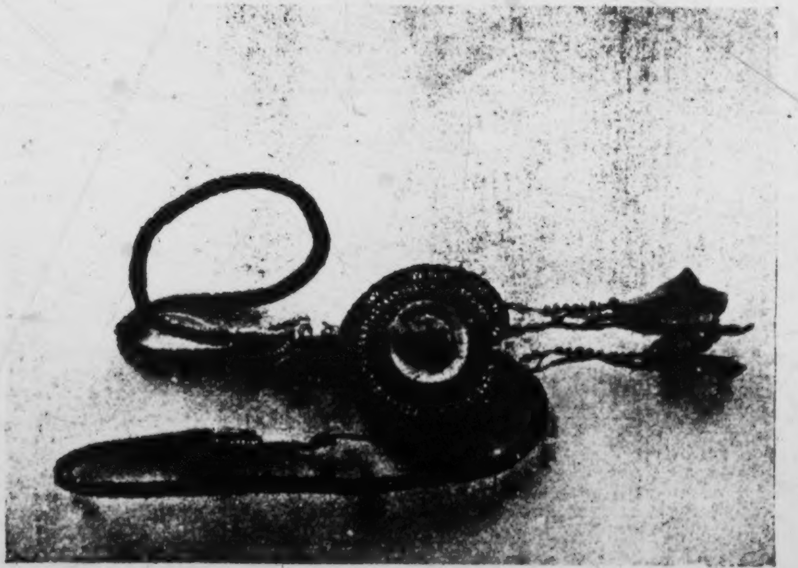

TSERA, SHELL CURRENCY WITH ORNAMENT ATTACHED

[Facing p.209]

465 dancing at the funeral rites for an old woman the dancers
were urged on by the shouts of the old woman's daughter,
535 who told them of the tobacco they would receive in the
437 morning. It is obvious that both men and women enjoy
their dancing, and that payment for it is not a primary consideration.
The dancing is a very deep and integral part of the traditional and ritual part of the life of the society, as well as a means of self-expression for the individual. Yet dancing falls into the general culture pattern, and, since it is considered a service to those for whom the rites are held, it is paid for. The dancing teacher, who may teach a variation of an old dance, or a completely new one learned on another island, or rehearse the old steps, receives his payment too. At the end of the rehearsals, and just before the rite is to be performed, he receives a stick of tobacco from each of his "pupils."

465 Another ritual service which always receives its compensation
is that of carrying a corpse from the house where it had
767 been resting to its grave in the cemetery. Those who perform
616 this service are always of the opposite moiety from the dead
437 person, and, while it is a ritual obligation for them, they are
paid with a small piece of *tsera* or one shilling.

Even for sexual enjoyment there is a payment of currency.
437 For all extra-marital intercourse the man makes a payment
837 of one *tsera* to the woman, who hands it over to her husband.
This aspect will be considered more fully in the discussion of sexual life, but it must be noted here that the woman would consider it disgraceful if the payment were not made, and that there is nothing similar in the payment to the custom of prostitution of our Western civilization. A woman does not sleep with her lover for the payment any more than he or she dances for a payment, but the payment is part of it. Underlying the payment is the principle of reciprocity which is such an integral part of the whole culture.

583 Marriage payments are in the same class. We have already
437

583 437 seen how the husband makes a payment of *tsera* to the mother and close clan relatives of the bride, and how he is assisted by his own clan relatives in collecting the necessary payment. But the payment could in no way be considered a purchase. It has the binding force of a rite, and has the same function that the church or court-house has in the marriage rites of our culture. The marriage of a girl involves no loss to her clan. Residence is matrilocal; the community receives a new member and hence a new worker; the clan relatives receive frequent gifts of fish and services in the garden from the husband. No family marries off a daughter to receive the payment, yet she could not be married without the payment any more than a girl in a Western civilization could be married without a church or legal ceremony of some kind.[1]

437 183 We can see how the principles of payment and reciprocity are much more than economic laws, operating exclusively in the realm of barter, but are instead forces underlying the whole culture. Nothing, with the exception of food between kindred and friends, can be given or done for nothing.

TRADE BETWEEN GROUPS—SALE OF A *MALANGGAN*

438 The principle of reciprocity applies to group as well as to individual, and is brought out in the sale of a *malanggan*, as described below. This transaction comes under the heading of trade, and is the sale of the right to make a ritual carving and the rites connected with it. The *malanggan* and its significance in mortuary rites are described in Chapter VIII. Here only the economic import of the sale is noted.

Poinbi and Kanot, of the village of Logagon, about twenty-five miles from Lesu, and belonging to another linguistic

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[1] When I described our marriage customs to my native friends, they were quite scandalized at the lack of payment, and asked how it could be a true marriage. They were almost equally shocked at the Continental custom of the bride bringing a dowry. One native compared a Christian marriage with no payment to the mating of pigs.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

unit, want to make a *malanggan* for Watlau, who has been dead for some time. Kanot is his son and Poinbi his maternal nephew.[1] Poinbi is the one who comes to Lesu to buy the *malanggan* and attends to all the business concerning it. Kanot goes to Tabar, where he has clan relatives, in order to get their financial assistance for the enterprise. 438

In the middle of August Poinbi comes to Lesu and makes arrangements to buy from Palou the right to make the *Puiba malanggan* of the *Sasabwan* class. Palou is the leading old man of the Sinpop clan, and learned the design and rites connected with the *Puiba malanggan* from his maternal uncle and grandfather. They had learned it in a dream from their *gas*. Palou consents to sell it, and thus relinquishes his right to make this particular kind of *malanggan*. It is understood that the payments will be made when it is finished and the rites are held. 437 424

Poinbi returns to Logagon, and a few days later the making of the *malanggan* begins. All the men from Penguli (Palou's hamlet) go to the bush to cut down a tree trunk; they come back in the afternoon singing gaily as they walk with their heavy load. There is a festive air about the beginning of the undertaking. Later Palou pays them with tobacco and coconuts. A small house is now made on the beach near the cemetery, and Palou marks its completion with a feast for all the men who have helped build it. He buys a pig from Manumat for the occasion, and there are also taro and coconuts. Palou will pay the women who have contributed the taro after he has been paid by Poinbi at the conclusion of the rites. 532 476

Kanua, the skilled carver of Lesu, now begins to work. Palou pays him one *tsera* in advance, and sits with him in the little house, showing him how to carve the *malanggan*. 532

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[1] There is thus a contradiction here—a clan and a non-clan relative co-operating to make a *malanggan* for the same dead person. This is one of the exceptions always occurring in any functioning society.

532 The figures are those of Poinbi's maternal uncle, father, brother-in-law, and two others. The bird is an ordinary one of the bush. There are two snakes, which represent the *tsinanis* snakes of the Sinpop clan. A round design in the centre, *mutenalin*, represents the dawn, or the light just before sunrise, but not the sun itself.[1]

532 562 Every evening while the *malanggan* is being made the men of Penguli and near-by hamlets eat together communally, and every week there is a special feast for the men, for no apparent reason except that it is connected with the *malanggan*. It must be remembered that it is taboo for the women to look at *malanggans*, and that it is only the men who are directly concerned with them. It is interesting to note also that while it is being made there is a drawing together of the men and a separation from the women, in the male communal eating every night. Although the women, as usual, prepare the taro, one realizes very clearly that the undertaking is predominantly a masculine one.

532 437 In two months' time, by the middle of October, the *malanggan* has been carved but not painted.[2] Now the men sit up until past midnight discussing its removal to Logagon and all the necessary preliminary arrangements. The Logagon people have sent word for them to come on a certain day, but they decide to go a few days before this, because they say that they have so much work to do. When they get to Logagon they must paint the *malanggan*, build a house to hold it, and teach the people there the rites. This is their work, and they talk about it with a sort of pride—that they must do their own work and not have others do it.

437 The men have a feast in the late afternoon of the day before they start off on their journey to Logagon. The next

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[1] The last time Palou made this *malanggan* was at the time his maternal nephew was circumcised, and the figures on it then represented his dead wife and his dead Sinpop (his clan) relatives.

[2] Kanua was interrupted in the middle of his work and went to a bush hamlet to carve a small *malanggan*, which was a "rush" order.

morning, just after sunrise, they set off, walking and carrying upon their shoulders the *malanggan*, completely covered with leaves. Two old men, Towi and Ridis, start a little in advance of the others because they cannot walk so fast and they want a good start. The men go off gaily and with an air of great importance. The women stand and chatter for a while and talk jestingly about how they are now all alone, and they ask rhetorically who will go and kill the bush pig. 437

About a week later the women go to Logagon, carrying bundles of uncooked taro with them, and a week after that —two weeks after the men have arrived—the preliminary rites are held. In the meantime the men have been busy rehearsing the dances, making costumes, masks, and painting the *malanggan*. The women from Lesu and Logagon have also been busy preparing the taro. A specially large communal cook-house has been erected for the occasion. The preliminary rites which have been postponed for the arrival of the Tabar men, who have been expected daily, are finally held on November 4th, even though the boat from Tabar has not come. It was decided that they could be delayed no longer.

The rites held are the most beautiful, from an aesthetic point of view, that I saw. They begin on the outside of the enclosure when two men with grass skirts and feather head-dresses, representing *gas*, come from the bush to the open compound, carrying shell rattles, which they keep vibrating. Then everyone goes into the enclosure, which contains the unpainted *malanggan*. The place is beautifully decorated, and the dancers are in their places ready to begin. 437 535

Each dancer wears a feather head-dress and carries a bird's beak in his mouth. These represent the birds, *kania*, who sit on logs and reefs in the sea and look at sharks. The dancers kneel in their places, and with hands clasped behind their backs sway in unison, which is a dramatization of the

437 birds sitting on the reef or in trees. The effect is really lovely,
535 and is much appreciated by the audience.[1]

As soon as the dance is over there is a feast inside the
437 enclosure for the men, and one outside for the women. At
537 the men's feast there are three pigs and much baked taro.
The bundles of food are opened up and served in the usual fashion by "waiters" on leaves. Then payments of *isera* are given to Palou, the owner of the *malanggan*, and each man making the payment makes a short speech telling what the payment is for and how much it is.[2] After this Ongas, the Luluai from Lesu, makes a speech reciting the incidents leading up to the present occasion: how Foinbi came and asked them to make a *malanggan*; how they made it; how they have now been paid for it; and how Penguli can no longer make this particular *malanggan*. Throughout all the speeches the name of the hamlet of Penguli, and not that of the village of Lesu, is used.

437 In the meantime, while the men are eating and making
payments and speeches, the women have their feast outside the enclosure in a manner peculiar to this *malanggan*. They sit in a square formation on the bamboo logs which have been laid on the ground to mark an enclosed space. Some are inside serving the food. Inside the square a little tree, *numales*,
[201] has been stuck in the ground, from which is hung a scraped,
uncooked taro, painted with red stripes. This is a sign that the payments have been made. In the distribution of the food, pig and taro, the Lesu women take the lead, although most of the food comes from the women of Logagon. When the women finish eating, they stand up and circle around the square where they have been feasting, and sing.

437 For the next few days, after these preliminary rites, every-
one is quite busy with preparations for the future rites. Very early every morning the women go to the gardens, which are

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[1] This rite is called *Baummaen*.

[2] All the payments will be described in detail later.

a long way off in the hills, and do not return until late afternoon, and every evening at sunset they rehearse their dances. One day, just before the final rites, the rehearsal of a rather complicated dance broke up amid much excited and rather angry chatter, because the dancing had not been well done. 437

The men are also busy rehearsing their dances, making masks, costumes, etc.

Four days after the preliminary rites were held the men from Tabar arrived. In the boat are Kanot, of Logagon, several young men, mostly his clan relatives, and a few young boys from Tabar.

After the pigs have been placed in a little shelter close to the enclosure and the people are all in the compound outside it, Muratz, one of the men arriving from Tabar and a clan relative of Kanot, stands up and talks. "Suppose," he says, "no one had come to Tabar to tell me about these rites, I could not have come. But Kanot came and told me, and so now I have come. Should all this have happened a long time ago, I would not have come here. For suppose I had come a long time ago, there would have been fighting and I would have died. (Referring to the wars in the past, when all strangers were possible enemies.) But now it is a good time, for there is no fighting.[1] I have brought a few pigs and I am quite ashamed of them. They are not large pigs, but only very small pigs. Suppose Kanot should have come and talked about many big pigs, then many big pigs would have been bought. But he talked only about little pigs, and so I have bought only little (few) pigs. Now I am very much ashamed of the little (few) pigs. 437 537

"Suppose the Luluai had come, he would have talked much better than I have. I am not an important person. I

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[1] Many natives think that the abolition of warfare by the white Government is beneficial to them. In discussing it, they seem to appreciate particularly the freedom to move about among different peoples, who belong to other linguistic districts, without fear of war,

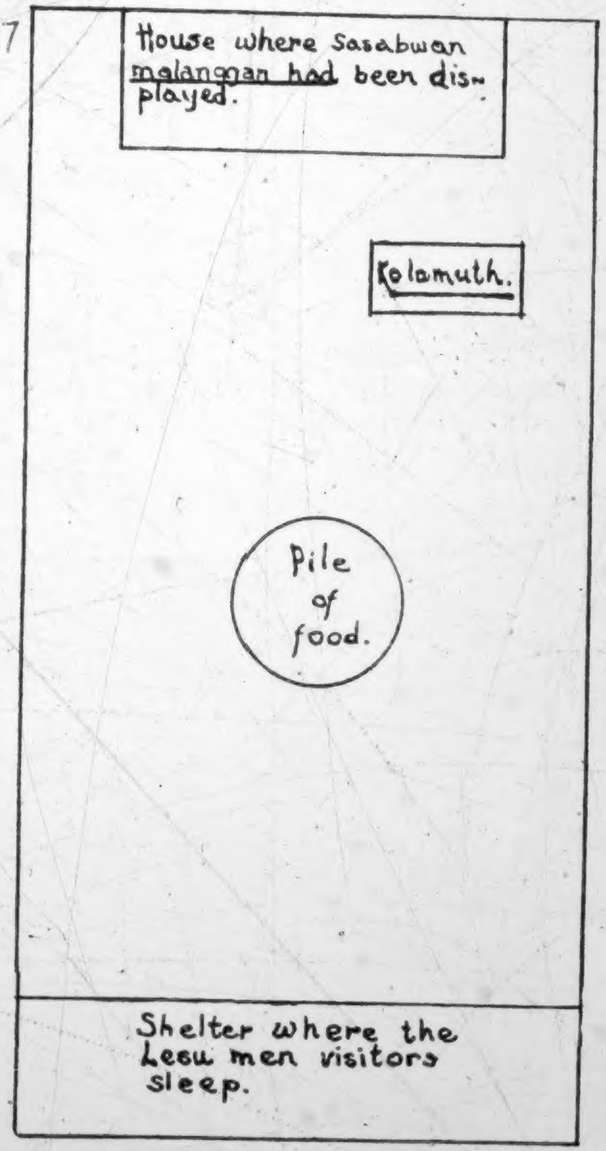
House where Sasabwan malanggan had been displayed.
Kolamuth.
Pile of food.
Shelter where the Lesu men visitors sleep.

DIAGRAM OF *BANUS* (ENCLOSURE) AFTER REMOVAL OF *MALANGGAN*

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am just an ordinary or "small" fellow. Now I have talked more than enough, and I am finished."

This speech is typical in its self-depreciation and its expression of shame over the smallness of the contributions. After Muratz finishes speaking everyone disperses and is busy with the preparations for a feast which will be held in the afternoon.

Late in the day the *kolamuth* is sounded for ten or fifteen minutes to call the men to the enclosure, where a small feast is to be held. The *malanggan* has been taken away and all the former decorations are gone.

When they have finished eating Poinbi stands up and talks. Translated freely, he says that he is cross with the men of Logagon because they are not helping him properly with *tsera*, etc. The men from the next village (in the direction of Kavieng) have assisted him materially, but the Logagon men have fallen down on the job. There is no retort to his charge, and it is expected that Kanot will also talk to the Logagon men later. Kanot's mother is a Tabar native and she still lives there. He spends his time between the two places, and likes particularly to stop on his mother's land. He indicates that he may go to Tabar to live, since the Logagon men have behaved so disgracefully.

After Poinbi finishes his speech four people come up and give him *tsera*. A little boy about four or five years old delivers the *tsera*. Then Poinbi gives the *tsera* which has just been given him to Palou. Another young boy is used to carry the *tsera* from Poinbi at one end of the enclosure to the other end where Palou is standing. There is always the formality of using a young boy as a messenger. 437

The feast now begins. The pigs are cut and the food distributed by "waiters," as is the custom. A different leaf is used for a plate than is used at Lesu. While they are eating a man stands up, holding the bone of a pig, and announces that the final rites will be held in five days. (There has been 437 537

437 much discussion as to the day for holding these, particularly
537 since the arrival of the Tabar men was delayed.) He then calls out the names of all the Lesu men. The men continue eating, but at the same time Luna, an important old man of Poinbi's clan, rises and walks up and down, singing and speaking. He calls the name of a pig Loanga, the pig in the Tsenabonpil myth, which ate men. He says: "Palou has come with the *malanggan*, and as a razor cuts hair[1] so has Palou come and taken all the *tsera* in pay. This is Watlau's day. (Watlau is the name of the dead man for whom this *malanggan* is made.) He was an important man who lived some time ago. Now I am an important man belonging to the time of Watlau. This time to which Watlau and I belong is different from to-day. To-day is not the same kind of time as it was in the past. To-day there are not so many little pigs, or so much *tsera*. The days of the past are finished. To the time of Watlau belongs Nutmei (name of an important man who died a long time before)." Then the speaker walks around all the pigs, hits each one with his spear, and calls out the names of Oma, Maizip, Melung, Shalut, etc., all men from Muniwai, the next village, who have assisted in the payments for the *malanggan*. He talks at length on how poor they are now, but there is no self-pity. It is a statement of fact, combined with a certain amount of pride that they have paid so much. He thinks that later someone farther down the road will buy this *malanggan* from them in turn (or rather will buy the privilege of making it), and then they will be paid plenty of *tsera* and be rich again. The speech marks the conclusion of the feast.

437 Three days later the *malanggan* has been painted and placed in the special house within the enclosure, and that afternoon the men have a small feast there. Before the eating begins Poinbi solemnly and ritually hands over more *tsera* to Palou, and then, standing by the pile of food, makes a short speech,

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[1] These natives know about razor blades.

saying that his clan relatives from Tabar have assisted him very materially in these rites. One long piece of *tsera*, several units, is given to a Tabar man in payment for a pig. After this the bundles of taro are opened and the two pigs cut up and distributed. 437

This feast marks the final payment of *tsera*. Though most of it is given to Palou, it is considered as being given also to Towi and Tukan, and it is understood that Palou will distribute it to them. Palou is the important old man of the Sinpop clan, and Tukan is his maternal nephew, and hence also of his clan. Towi is married to a Sinpop woman, and has a claim on the payment because his son, who died some years ago, was Sinpop, and if alive would be part-owner of the *malanggan* and receiver of part of the payment. Towi, his father, now acts as a sort of deputy for him. Of course, Towi's wife is Sinpop too, but in discussing it the natives do not mention her, but stress the fact that it is for the son that Towi is acting.

The total payment is 180 *tsera*, besides much tobacco and many loin-cloths. At the native rate of exchange, one *tsera* equalling five shillings, this is equal to £45 in Australian currency, or $225. Of this 140 *tsera* is paid to Palou of Penguli, while the remainder is paid to Tabar people who contributed pigs and helped in other ways. At Logagon Palou immediately distributes thirty of the *tsera* to thirteen people from Penguli, men and women who have helped him in the preparations. The individual payments range from one to five. Palou gives thirty more *tsera* to his own three children, to a maternal niece (sister's daughter), and to another sister's daughter's daughter. These five recipients of *tsera* are all members of the Sinpop clan. The remainder is supposed to belong to Palou, Towi, and Tukan. 437 435

After Palou has made the distribution at Logagon, Tukan and a few others are cross because they do not think he has paid them adequately. The dissatisfaction is felt particularly 437 518

437 578 by Tukan, and he and four or five others, who are also discontented, go back to Lesu several days before the rest. The situation never comes to a climax, and there is no open quarrel between Palou and Tukan; there is not even an exchange of words. Palou is Tukan's *tata*, mother's brother, and this relationship forbids Tukan from expressing his feelings of anger. His resentment has to be repressed and his only recourse is to leave. But if it had not been for this relationship there would have been an outspoken quarrel and probably a fight. In discussing the matter with the natives, it is interesting to note that they are fully aware of the principle that the anger is worse because it cannot be expressed, and this idea comes out quite spontaneously from them when they talk about the matter. Later, after all the Penguli people have returned to their own hamlet, Palou gives Tukan some additional *tsera*, and the matter is ended. Tukan himself, in talking it over with me afterwards, says that it was just a little dispute, because Palou is his maternal uncle; otherwise, he adds, it might have been a big quarrel.

437 Resuming the description of the concluding rites, which are held on the day after the final payments have been made, the women are busy scraping taro and with other usual cooking preparations for a feast. The Lesu women work with the Logagon women, although all along they have sat in separate groups. However, the Lesu women have been very sociable with the women of this village, and tell me that they get very little sleep, because they spend most of the night talking with the Logagon women. But despite this sociability they do not feel so very much at home, and say that they are tired and a bit homesick. They are anxious to get back to Lesu and their gardens, about which they are worried. However, they industriously continue with the preparations for the morrow's rites.

437 535 In the evening the men, women, and children participate in a dance at the same time. (This is the first time I witnessed

a dance in which both sexes took part.) It has two names, *Lumala* and *Pandawasik*. The dance is in circular formation, and each person shakes a shell rattle rhythmically. Both the Logagon and Lesu people are in it, and it is one of the special dances connected with this *malanggan*. It is supposed to be kept up all night, until dawn of the next day. But Logagon is the home of a Catholic Mission, and at ten o'clock the "Father" blows his whistle, the dancing stops, and everyone goes sedately home. 437 535

The next morning, shortly after sunrise, the women have a brief rehearsal of their dance. In the afternoon the rites begin with dancing, which continues for several hours. The men and women dance separately, and the dances are similar to the ones performed at other rites already described.

After the dances are finished there is a distribution of uncooked yams, taro, and twelve singed but uncooked pigs. There is no eating now; everyone carries his food home. During the distribution, which occurs in the open space in front of the enclosure and cook-house, the Lesu people remain within the cook-house, a little distance from where the apportionment is taking place. This is a sign that they do not wish any of the food which is being dispersed, for they will leave Logagon as soon as this is over and they do not want to be hindered on the long walk home by carrying bundles. The only thing they do take is sago, which they rarely get at Lesu. 437

They depart about sunset and walk all night, although if some are very tired they may stop at some place *en route*. They are all extremely anxious to return to their own village, for which there is a real nostalgia. 437 484

On Thursday, the day after the rites are over, Logagon people sleep all day. They are very tired.

The Lesu people left Wednesday about sunset, and got back to their own village at noon on Thursday. They are all exhausted and sleep for the rest of the day. But the next

437 morning they go to their gardens. Some find them intact,
while in others the pigs have wrought havoc, as was feared.
484 They settle into the accustomed routine, and are obviously
glad to be back.

Two days after the return to Penguli there is a feast to
437 mark the occasion of cleaning the little house in which the
malanggan was made. The chips of wood and other debris
are carefully swept out of the house. There is sago for the
feast, and the men are busy preparing it, while the women
scrape the taro which will accompany it. The sago is shredded
[252] until it is mealy, mixed with water and made into a loaf,
similar to bread. It is then wrapped in leaves and baked in
the *liga*. At the feast Ongas, the Luluai and orator, makes
[537] a speech recounting all the past events—the making of
the *malanggan*, taking it to Logagon, the rites there, and the
payment for it, and now this marks the conclusion of the
rites.

438 Almost three months have elapsed since Poinbi first came
to Penguli and made arrangements for the making of the
556 *malanggan*. There has been much ritual dancing and feasts.
Poinbi and his group have expended a great deal of wealth.
He and his community are poor now, but he has honoured
his dead relatives and acquired much prestige. Those who
have helped him have also acquired prestige. The acquisition
of the right to make the *malanggan*, which they bought from
Palou, is also a financial asset, for eventually they will resell
the right to make this *malanggan* to someone else and get all
the wealth back which they have now laid out. Palou and his
associates have lost the right to make the *malanggan*, but
are rich. Eventually they too will use this wealth to buy
the right to make a new *malanggan*.

438 A social and ceremonial undertaking has set a very large
amount of wealth into circulation. The economic transaction
has been on a communal scale, with two men acting as
leaders, and the principle of everything (service or material

object) being paid for has operated here as in all other social and economic transactions. 438

SUMMARY

We have seen the economic structure as it functions within the framework of the social organization. The family, clan, moiety, village, and sex groups all act at certain times as economic units. The family tills the soil; the clan owns property, regulates inheritance, and assumes economic responsibilities for many important rites; it is through the moiety that the principle of reciprocity so actively functions; the village owns property and acts as an economic unit in certain undertakings; and sex is the most significant factor in regulating the division of labour. 182 511

The essentials of life are communally owned and fairly easy to secure. Since there is an abundance of land and no private ownership of it, and also no private fishing or hunting rights, only industry is required to secure food. The same absence of private property in land makes shelter an easy matter. The bush provides the material; the land is free; everyone knows the rudiments of house-building; and the assistance of relatives is readily secured for a slight compensation. Clothing practically did not exist in the past, and is very slight and of little significance to-day. There is, therefore, no problem in securing the fundamentals of food, shelter, and clothing. Yet there is private property: ornaments, implements of work, currency, pigs, knowledge (medical and magical), are all privately owned. There is wealth and there are rich men, but poverty does not exist. Moreover, everyone lives in the same style. The house, food, and general manner of daily living is the same for everyone, regardless of his amount of wealth. The importance of wealth is that it allows a man to make the elaborate rites for his dead ancestors, and so gain prestige for himself.

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Wealth is not hoarded, but instead is always being put in circulation at the constant ritual feasts. And there is no reason why wealth should be saved over any long interval. Old age does not mean economic insecurity. For every old person is well taken care of by either his own children or by classificatory ones. The old people, men and women, are the most respected members of the community, and it is unthinkable that any one of them should be in want.
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In this society of rich, but no poor, where only industry is required to secure the essentials of life, one may ask, What becomes of the lazy man? For as men vary in skill and intelligence, so also do they vary in industry. In Lesu, if a man is too lazy to work, he will not starve. His relatives will give him food, and should they grow disgusted with him, other members of the community will feed him. No member of the village would go hungry, unless there was some general famine affecting everyone. But while the lazy man will have a place to sleep, and food to eat, and can even enjoy life in his own way, he will be a man of no importance in the community. He will have no influence in discussions; it will be difficult for him to secure a wife (and the same applies to a lazy woman securing a husband); he will not be able to give big feasts; and he will have no prestige. In a society largely motivated by prestige, this is a serious handicap. Although the burden of the lazy man's support will be carried by his family (immediate and extended) and by the community, if the family gets disgusted, he will remain a man of no account, and will have no influence in the communal life. Some of the abusive and insulting language to those who have no wealth brings out the opinion in which they are held:

Umär atsuga ärup numka tsera: you are no good; you have no currency.

Umär atsuga ärup numka bul; you are no good; you have no pig.

These are the insulting taunts hurled in moments of anger,

and show the position of a man who is merely willing to 182
exist and to collect no wealth. The speeches of women at 461
initiation and other rites about their lazy husbands give 558
evidence of the same attitude. The impression is strengthened even more in the casual conversation and everyday life of the community. For instance, many people have discussed with me quite frankly the position of Ladawin, a young man who shows no inclination for work. It is freely predicted that he will not get a wife, and he is very obviously not looked upon as one of the coming men.

The economic organization is well integrated with the 182
environment and the social structure, and it creaks less noticeably than the economic structures of many of our Western societies. Needs are provided for; there is no insecurity; individual skill and ability is appreciated; wealth is accumulated only to be redistributed again and to thus bring prestige. The underlying social forces—the principle of reciprocity, the desire for prestige, respect for the old, the kinship system—are the animating principles of the economic organization.

CHAPTER VII

SEXUAL LIFE

000 By sexual life is here meant the whole relationship between a man and a woman. It includes not only the sex act, but also the daily sharing of duties, the little acts of affection, and even the quarrels, and comprises the whole system of sentiments which develop out of the life in common between a man and a woman. The bonds of affection which may perhaps be primarily based on sexual attraction are strengthened and reinforced by all the casual intimacies of family life, and even the disputes and quarrels are part of it.

MARRIAGE

595 Before going into detail it is necessary to sketch the outlines of the marriage pattern. Marriage may be polygamous, polyandrous, or monogamous. In the past, most men had two wives, but rarely more than that at a time, with the exception of a chief, who might have three or four. A man marries them at different times, and the woman he marries first is known as *aeina towanmaga* (literally, woman first). The second woman he marries is known as *aeina inil* (literally, [601] woman later time). The husband, however, addresses them both by the same term, *nunga tumbo* (my wife). The children of either wife call each one *nangga*, mother.

Occasionally the two women live in the same house, but much more frequently the husband builds a separate house for each wife. He sleeps with one wife one night, and with the other on another night. Each wife has her own garden, and the husband works in their gardens alternately, usually going in the morning to the garden of the one with whom he has slept.

[p.226]

Wife number one has a certain precedence over the other. 595
When the husband returns from fishing he gives the fish to wife number one, who then divides it with wife number two. The same order is followed with baked pig, or any other food which the husband brings home from a feast. Number one will always give half the food to number two, but the [578]
former would be very angry and feel insulted if her husband should not give the food to her first.

A woman may also have two husbands, known as husband number one (*tamuth towanmaga,* man first time) and number two (*tamuth inil,* man later), in the order in which she has acquired them. She calls both of them *nunga malis,* my hus- [601]
band. There is no evidence of a woman ever having more than two husbands at one time. Number one makes the marriage payment to his wife's maternal relatives in the [583]
traditional manner. Number two, however, pays the *tsera* to number one and not to his wife's clan relatives. Should husband number one die, number two will stay on with the woman and make no additional payment to her clan relatives. It is considered that the payment is finished when he pays number one at the beginning of the marriage.

Both husbands bring the woman fish, pig, etc., and she cooks for each one. The three eat together, the two men with the bundle of taro between them, and the woman close by. Sometimes the three sleep in the same house, three beds in a row, and the woman between the two men. At other times husband number two will sleep in the men's house, and the woman will sleep with her husbands alternately. There appears to be no quarrelling between the two men. The [601]
children of the woman call both men *mum* (father). In the past these polyandrous marriages were the exception rather than the rule, and there is only one such marriage in Lesu now. The first husband died during my visit, and the second then became husband number one.

Monogamous marriages also existed in the past, and

595 to-day it is the more usual type, although most of the adult, middle-aged men of Lesu had had two wives, and later, because of white influence, gave up one. There are, however, still about six households in the village where the marriage is polygamous.

837 While white contact may have influenced the form of marriage, it has had relatively very little influence on extra-marital intercourse. This continues much the same as it did in the past. Each man has his *affaires de cœur* outside of marriage, and his wife has hers at the same time. This is a social custom with all the force of tradition.

586 Divorce is also an important element in the marriage structure. It occurs fairly frequently, and either party may secure it. The marriage payment is always returned to the husband, and the children go with the mother, no matter who initiates the divorce. The reasons for a divorce, its frequency, and the social attitude toward it, will be examined in another section of the chapter. At this point we are interested only in the general configuration.

595 It is into this social structure of formerly polygamous marriages, which within the last few years have become in general monogamous (but with a certain number of polygamous unions still in existence), occasional polyandrous marriages, occasional divorce and much extra-marital intercourse on both sides, that the sexual life of these men and women is set.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS LOVE

832 To know what is meant in Lesu by falling in love, it is necessary to understand what the individual considers attractive in the opposite sex, how the man woos his mate, how she responds, and what are the details of their life together. These are to a large degree socially determined, i.e. there is a general unanimity on what is considered a beautiful woman, and there is a more or less standardized

procedure to woo her. But it must also be remembered that there exists here, as elsewhere, the always unpredictable element of mutual attraction between two individuals of opposite sex. 832

ATTRIBUTES OF BEAUTY

In discussing it, whether he is telling about his present love or a past one, or talking more abstractly about women in general, the Lesu man says that what he considers most desirable in a woman is youth, firm, well-developed breasts, and a light-coloured skin. To a woman the desirable qualities in a man are also youth, light-coloured skin, and she prefers men with small eyes and without beards. The natives are keen to discern varying shades of skin colour, and they notice slight variations in shade more sharply than the average white person. Time after time old men informants, in giving me the spells of love magic, told me about the women for whom they formerly practised it, and always they stress the light-coloured skins of their loves as a great attribute of beauty. Young men stress the same point in talking of the girls they now desire.

The reason that both sexes desire their partners to be young is that they are then more vigorous in the sexual act. Particularly do the women stress this point. There is, for example, an attractive young widow named Pengong, with two children. She has made advances to many of the rather young unmarried youths of the village, all of whom have willingly been her lovers, but they refuse to marry her because they say she is too old, while she refuses to marry a man of her own age or older. However, it is doubtful if she will stay unmarried long, and eventually she will probably marry a man of her own age. Brakko, an older woman who remarried after she became a widow, told me frankly that she preferred young men, but that after her first husband 832 587

832 [587] died she married a fairly mature man. She added that she liked him, too.

The firmness of a woman's breasts is much stressed. The breasts are uncovered, and so are very obvious. A middle-aged woman's breasts which hang loosely are not objects of beauty by any aesthetic standards.

832 302 The hair, which is kinky and stands out from the head, is an important factor in beauty, and much time and attention are put on it. The natural colour of the hair is black, but it is very rarely that it is seen in this colour. It is the universal custom for both sexes of all ages to "paint" their hair with powdered white lime, and the result is a great variety in shades of tan, depending on when it was last "painted."[1] The hair is frequently combed, and if a native wants to make himself particularly attractive he spends hours on his hair, combing, "painting" it, etc. A flower behind the ear, a wreath of leaves around the head, are all considered adornments.[2] [515] Practically everyone has lice, and looking for each other's lice is a never-ending pastime between friends. A bald-headed man is considered an object [142] of ridicule and very ugly. He is a most unusual type, and there were none in Lesu. I had for a short time a Papuan cook-boy who was bald. He tried to seduce some of the village women, but without success. They all laughed at him, and mocked him openly for his baldness. He was also short, another point not in his favour. He finally took to boasting of his conquests on other islands where he had worked, but this, too, left the village belles untouched. Women prefer clean-shaven men to bearded ones. In the

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[1] For many of the ritual dances the hair is "painted" red or blue. A few of the more sophisticated natives who have been to Rabaul have learned the whitening effect of peroxide, and use it whenever they can procure it.

[2] I gave them some tinsel (Christmas-tree decoration) and gaily coloured crêpe paper. Both were immediately put around the hair in the fashion of a crown and were much in demand.

past shaving, or rather the extraction of hair, was done with a shark's tooth. It is still used to-day, but when possible a razor blade is obtained from a trader. Finger-nails are shortened by biting them. 832 302

In addition to hair decorating there are facial decorations, and the favourite style for both sexes is the painting of a yellow circle around one eye. A broad band of white lime on the forehead is likewise considered attractive. There are other types of facial adornment which are used only in connection with ritual dancing and are described in that context.

The familiar disease, ringworm, makes a person of either sex undesirable for marriage, but not for intercourse. For example, Landa, from the village of Langania, was married when quite young, and her husband died after a brief period. Afterwards she contracted the ringworm disease. For quite a few years now she has been noted for her many lovers, by some of whom she has had children, but none of these lovers will marry her because of her skin disease. The sexual act may be performed with a minimum of body touching, but the men are afraid of catching the disease if they marry her. However, just before I left New Ireland Landa married an elderly man, who, I was told, could get no one else. Aside from the ringworm and a rather large stomach, she was not unattractive, and seemed to have a pleasant and rather vivid personality, and was one of the most energetic and industrious of the women at the communal food preparations. 832 581 164 587

In general, the physical parts of the body which have aesthetic and sexual attraction for the Melanesian in New Ireland do not differ so much from those of our own culture. They are mainly health, the breasts, the colour of the skin, and the hair. Eyes are also regarded as of importance, and small ones are considered the most attractive. 832

LOVE MAGIC

832 The approach of a man toward a woman he desires is primarily through magic. Personal beauty, adornment, and "flirting" are all of assistance, but to the native real success depends upon magic. When a man wants to possess a certain woman he makes a magical spell for her, or if he does not know one he will pay a man famed for his love magic to make one. There is no particular difference in its efficacy if the lover makes it himself or has someone else do it for him. But the spell must be made, for without it no man can hope to win a woman. While it is more common for a man to make magic for a woman, there are also spells for a woman to court a man.

832 826 828 Underlying the use of love magic is a physiological theory that the seat of passion and all emotion is in the stomach, and that the spell causes a woman's abdomen to become agitated and desire the man, and that then her whole body becomes excited and wants him. The girl may be miles away when the spell is performed, but that night she dreams of the man and the next morning she desires him. Then she usually sits in a kind of lethargy and will not eat, smoke, talk, or work, or go through any of the other normal routine occupations of the day. Instead she merely sits, languid and dreamy, sometimes weeping, and is afraid she will die if she does not get to the man. Finally she can stand it no longer and goes to him.

832 539 A few of the spells follow.

Kerum timaniga
Kandum kumbetitia
Nulis imbamb
niso rae noso rum goorum so rym
Ti ini so rum

Freely translated: "Go, go down the neck, into the stomach, the liver, and the spleen. Make her mouth round, the mouth of the girl." The rounding of the mouth appears to refer to the fact that when the spell has taken effect the mouth will not go through its normal functions of eating, smoking, etc. 832 539

Another spell is made over the *kuskus* leaf, of which the straw aprons formerly worn by the women were made. [824 291]

Lungslora Tsanatsoa
galin galin ta
galin galin sombim
Tulumurutk
Liw nor tulumurutk
roro roro mating diwwairung mu roro

Fly to Tsanatsoa (name of girl for whom spell was being made), go, go in her eye, go, go down her chest. Make her inside "hot." Last four lines repeated.

She will think only of this man. Blood, blood, carry spell down to the stomach and liver.

The last two lines are repeated many times with the head on the arms.

The above spell is said over the leaf, and for this spell the girl should be present. The magician slaps her chest with the leaf and then throws it away into the bush. This action indicates that it will be a temporary "affair," and that the girl will eventually return to her husband. Should the magician throw the leaf on the fire, however, it indicates that the girl will stay with her lover and not return to the husband.

The following spell is said over the *tsil* leaf, which is then hung up in the men's house over the fire. Just as there will be smoke if the fire burns the leaf, so will [824]

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the stomach of the girl become "hot" or excited and want the man.

> *Tsiri m lo inu wango* (repeated many times)
> *Indei belmur san*
> *Tuk li munga and di munga lolo belel.*

Leaf go down into the windpipe and to the stomach. She sneezes. She sits down. Her stomach becomes hot with desire.

Another spell is said only at night. After it the two will have much intercourse, and later marry. Should either one or both be married, they will leave their mates.

> *Nungo win kapun nungo nuno terangalae terangalae*
> *san tel manutsili sungansa n alol bunbung*
> *Mahisis alsol ridi.*

Translated freely this is: As the phalanger runs swiftly, so will the spell go quickly to the stomach of the woman, and she will then run quickly to the man. Later they will be married.

The following spell is made usually at the time of the *malanggan* rites, but it would also be effective at any other time. The man chants the spell.

> *Landut meta ninut meta*
> *sipumembe rim lo malo.*

Landut is the name of a bird that calls out in the afternoon. "Then the woman will think about the man. Her stomach will become excited, and her skin will want to come to the man." After this spell, which may be chanted several miles from where the woman is, she will come to him in the men's house. If he is alone they

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may have intercourse there, otherwise they will go to the bush.

There is one spell which is used to make a woman get rid of a man, usually a rival. In one case observed, however, the lover used it against himself as he wished the woman to leave him and go back to her husband. The spell is said over the leaf *kiliga.*

Mei kadunglawi
Mei tsulsil lawi

Then the personal name of the man is called.

Leaf, take away. Leaf, take away (name of man). The leaf is then put in a place where the woman will see it. When she sees it, not knowing the spell has been made over it, she will kick it aside with her foot. This symbolizes the getting rid of the man.

There is some love magic which has no spell connected with it. A man will touch a coconut with his penis and then give the coconut to the woman to eat. After this she will desire him.

All the above magic is usually used by a man in his extra-marital affairs, but it is customary also for a man to make magic towards a newly acquired wife just before the marriage is consummated.

While women use love magic to win a man, it is not nearly as prevalent as the use of magic by men. Five men in the village were famed for their knowledge of love magic, while only one woman had a knowledge of this kind. This was Kanua, now very old, but with the reputation of having been an expert. She is now rather feeble and does not practise her spells, but she thoroughly enjoyed telling me about them, and her eyes gleamed as she recited them. She regrets

832 that she has forgotten much of her knowledge and that her
539 mind is not as clear as it was. Here are some of her spells, as well as she could remember them.

The following is said over her straw apron, *Avarunga*:

Jawa ila tsarriri, ila tsarriri lasmero, avarunga.

I like the man, I like the man. Apron go find him.

Another also said over the straw apron:

Larona mumu jamdi masso wana sua
A lili si Larona urenunga urensanganu.

Man you are behind me, you follow me;
You want me. You come from behind to me.

The following is said over a banana which the woman gives the man to eat. After that he desires her.

Undi jänton jure
kandudu muta
unda unda muta i undi
undi tsoro undi tsoro, tamulh tsoro.

Eat the banana
I look at him
I give him the banana
As the banana is with me now,
so will the man be with me.

The following spell is said at sunrise, just before participating in *malanggan* dancing rites, and its effect is to make the desired man want her:

But but tsinanliru
Tsinanliru teranungbilanen
but but tsinanliru.

Foot foot go
Go now
Foot foot go.

This refers to the dancing to attract men.

Another spell: 832

Gulelin m diguri unali twang ni umtawangni 539

I will hang by the neck unless you get up and come to me.

There are also several rites unconnected with any spell. A woman will smear some blood from her breast, which she purposely cuts, on a baked taro and give it to a man to eat. He eats it unknowingly, and then desires her.

Or a woman may take some hair from her armpits and put it on a baked taro, which she then gives to the man to eat. After that he likes her.

The spells recited by the women are of quite a different 832 nature from those used by the men. The latter are all concerned with their effect on making the woman's abdomen (the seat of her emotions) desire the man, while those which the women recite are much simpler, and are not concerned with the abdomen. They merely wish that her straw apron, or her dancing, or a banana over which a spell has been made, will make the man follow her. The love magic used by the women is considered subsidiary to that used by the men, which is the fundamental or principal love magic.

There is also magic of revenge for a jilted lover. At 754 sunrise, or just before, the jilted man rolls a *tsil* leaf 578 in his hand and ties it in a knot. He hides near the house of the woman and watches where she urinates. Then he goes to this place and passes the knotted leaf through the woman's urine which has been deposited there. Now the leaf is put in the cemetery and left there for the day. The next day he takes it to the bush and leaves it in one of the rain pools there. After a while the leaf will stink, as all the bush pools become stagnant in a short time. At the same time the woman's vagina will become sore and itch, so that she cannot

754 518 work. Should the man repent and wish to make her well, he takes the leaf out of the pool, throws it away, then makes a cut in the *beranot* tree, allowing the sap to run out. The woman then becomes better.[1]

Another magic spell of revenge made by a man whose advances to a woman have been turned down is directed against her when she becomes pregnant. He takes a piece of strong vine and knots it twice. This knotted rope is then stuck in the ground at the entrance either to the woman's house or garden. The woman walks unheedingly over it. Then the man takes the rope to his house, pulls the knots tighter, which indicates the death of the unborn child, and sometimes of the woman also, and hangs it from the ceiling where it catches the smoke from the fire. To counteract the effects of this rite the knots must be untied and the following spell said over white lime placed in half a coconut shell:

Tsabu beriga
Tsigi beriga.

Tsabu is the name of a plant which when cooked evaporates into nothing. The spell reads:

Tsabu, go quickly.

Child, go quickly.

832 No native ever doubts the efficacy of love magic, or for that matter of any other magic. Its power is infallible, unless some other magician should make some counteractive magic. One old man before giving me his spells looked all around my house to make sure that one of my servants, a young woman, was not present. He explained that he did not want her to overhear his spells, for, he went on, he was an old man now and did not want any "affairs" or "trouble."

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[1] The man who gave me this magic said that he had used it once and the woman against whom it was directed had become ill.

Therefore he would be careful. When he was finally assured 832 that my servant was not within hearing distance he recited his spells.

Of course, a man does not make magic for a woman, or *vice versa*, whom he has not seen. Some preliminaries of courtship have passed between them. One of them at least has been attracted to the other, and sometimes the attraction may be mutual. It is then that the lover uses magic.

FLIRTING

There are ways of showing one's desires which correspond to our "flirting." For instance, a man may pull a piece of straw from a woman's straw apron and stick it in his armband. If the woman likes him she will pull it back. Or a man may make a small gift of betel-nut or a necklace of dog's teeth to his mistress. Borrowing fire is a frequent excuse for visiting a woman. A man will put his fire out in order to have an excuse to borrow a lighted faggot from a woman whom he desires to see.

A woman's method of leading a man on is the not very subtle one of exposing her genitalia. Sometimes she is in earnest, really wanting the man, as when one Lesu woman very simply and directly went up to a man from a bush village, exposed her genitalia and placed it next to him. They had intercourse, and later were married. At other 832 times a woman may merely lead a man on for the fun of it. 522 A tale of how two girls "devilled" one man was told to me by one of the women. Both are women of social importance, one being the wife of a former chief, and both are now grandmothers. With eyes gleaming with merriment over the tale, she related how she and another young woman were sitting by the *liga* and had tossed up their straw aprons and so exposed themselves. A man came up to take a baked taro from the *liga*, and seeing them he immediately had an

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erection. He wanted to have intercourse with them, but they refused and said they were just playing. They told him to come closer and take the taro, but he only swayed back and forth in pain. Later the women lay down on a path in the bush and exposed themselves again. Once more the man saw them, had an erection, and wanted them. Again they refused and said they were only playing.

This tale was told to me without embarrassment, very dramatically, and amid shouts of laughter. A group of seven or eight women were present. Although all of them knew the tale, they laughed appreciatively at it and thoroughly enjoyed its re-telling, including the participant. The presence of several young children was taken for granted, and they too laughed, although not quite so heartily or understandingly as their mothers.

832 It has already been noted how the women use the same device of exposing themselves during their dancing, when they are feeling very gay, and how it is sometimes followed by intercourse.

SEX ACTIVITIES

833 The actual details of intercourse are naturally the same in or out of marriage, although some of the preliminaries may vary. A husband and wife each have their separate bed,
[513] never sleeping in the same one. In the past the woman slept in her straw apron, and to-day she sleeps with her loin-cloth on, as does also the man. When the man desires his wife he goes to her bed, and when he has finished returns to his own bed almost immediately. The woman never takes the initiative in going to her husband's bed, and when asked the question my women friends regarded such a procedure with horror, and asked if the woman should be a man.

The woman lies flat on her back with legs outstretched and as wide apart as possible. The man squats or kneels between her wide-open legs and supports himself by grasping her shoulders. The man may lift the woman's body towards 833 him so that their breasts and faces touch in an embrace. At other times their bodies, except for the sexual organs, scarcely touch. There seems to be no caressing either before or afterwards.[1] The woman is conscious of the man's seminal ejection, but appears to have no knowledge of any secretion of her own.

It is usual to have intercourse just once during the night. The exact frequency varies according to couple and desire. No husband and wife appear to have it every night, and the ~~average~~ indulgence seems to be once or twice a week. The woman has none during her menses. If at any time she has no desire she can say "no," and she is not taken unwillingly.

> A myth of the origin of copulation is of interest. A man 833 and his wife live together, but know nothing of copulation. 773 The husband thinks that his wife's genitalia is a big sore, and he is afraid of it. He goes to a native doctor named Kutkut and asks him to come and put medicine on his wife's "sore." Kutkut comes, passes a leaf over the fire (the usual way of preparing medicine), and then sends the husband out of the house to the seashore. While he is gone Kutkut copulates with the woman. The husband returns and asks his wife if Kutkut put medicine on the "sore," and she replies "yes."
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> The next day the husband notices that the "sore" is no better, and so he asks Kutkut to come again. He comes, and there is a repetition of the incident just described.
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> The day after this the husband notices that the

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[1] There appeared, according to informants, but very little variation in the position and other details of the sexual act, but one can never be quite sure of having all the facts on such an esoteric matter, there being only a limited number of informants whom the ethnologist knows intimately enough for a discussion of these matters.

833 773 "sore" is still no better, and Kutkut comes a third time at the husband's request. The husband angrily asks Kutkut why he does not cure the woman of her "sore," and says he thinks Kutkut is lying. Kutkut, also angry, replies that the woman has no "sore," and asks the husband indignantly why he does not understand what to do with the woman. Then Kutkut places the husband in the exact position for copulation, but still nothing happens, and the husband does not know what it is all about. Kutkut then takes a hot taro from the fire and places it on the buttocks of the man. This makes him start, and involuntarily he acts. The man exclaims, "Ah, good, very good, wonderful, I like it very much." From this time on copulation has been known.

I was told at the end of the tale that if Kutkut had not shown the man there would be no children. When I asked the question as to how the husband and his wife and Kutkut came into existence there was no answer, and it was just regarded as the foolish question of an anthropologist.

BIRTH CONTROL AND ABORTION

842 847 These Lesu people are fully aware of the causal connection between intercourse and birth, although they do not know the exact physiological process by which the embryo is formed. However, they think they have a method of control over birth. There are certain leaves which are supposed to have the power of making a woman sterile, and others which are said to have an abortive value. To produce sterility or abortion several leaves are taken in succession. The leaves are chewed, the juice swallowed, and the pulp spit out.[1] Natives swear by the efficacy of these leaves. But

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[1] See Medical Knowledge, pp. 293-297, for a detailed description of leaves and their use, and possible medical value.

so also do they swear by the ability of the rain magician to 842 make rain. The women are very sure of the power of the 847 abortive leaves, and, as far as I know, no physical means of abortion is used. The knowledge of these sterility and abortive leaves is zealously guarded by those who know about them. They are usually men who have received the knowledge from their maternal uncle, or some other relative. This knowledge, like all medical and magical information, [424] is a source of income, for when a man is requested to procure the leaves he is paid for his services.

It is of interest to learn why some women, even though 842 they are in the minority, should want to be sterile or to have abortions. In discussing it the women are sometimes quite vague, merely saying that they or some other women do not want children because they do not want them, and, with a shrug of the shoulder, let it go at that. However, there are others who are more definite. Fear of pain at birth is one reason for not wanting a child, and one woman who had had one child told me that she then ate the sterility leaves because she did not want to go through the birth pains again. Several other women told me they did not want children because it interfered with their dancing, which forms so large a part of ritual life, and which they so thoroughly enjoy. Still another reason advanced was that it interfered with their having sexual relations.[1] No woman would ever admit this as her own reason, but some of them gave it to me as the motive for other women not wishing children. These were the only three reasons for not desiring children that I was able to secure, and it must be remembered that these women were in the minority. The larger number of women said that they had never eaten sterility or abortive leaves, and had no desire to. As has already

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[1] This refers to the taboo on intercourse during pregnancy and the nursing period. One man said he did not want his wife to have children because of the restraint it put on *his* sexual life.

842 been seen, when a child is born nothing could exceed the affectionate care bestowed on an infant by his mother and the whole family. There are thus the two contradictory sentiments, desire for and rejection of motherhood existing side by side in the same society.

EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS

837 Sexual life is not confined to marriage, and supplementary to it is the extra-marital intercourse. It is the socially accepted custom for a wife and a husband to have intercourse with a number of additional people, and either one, if young, would be considered abnormal if he or she did not have it. A young married woman without lovers would be in the same social position as a young girl in our society who never has any beaux or is never invited to parties.

Middle-aged women discussed their past affairs with me quite freely, and most of them had had so many lovers that they could not remember the exact number. One old woman, now a frightful-looking hag with a cataract over one eye, asked me rather indignantly if I expected her to remember every man with whom she had ever slept. Permanent intrigues with one man do not seem to be common, for, if such were the case, the woman would divorce her husband and marry her lover.

The woman and her lover usually have their intercourse in the bush, and the name for the lover is *malis lotin*, literally, husband bush. Sometimes if the husband is away, or sleeping in the men's house, they may have it in the woman's house. 837 431 Each time a man copulates with a woman other than his wife he gives her one string of *tsera*, which she in turn gives to her husband later. This *tsera* is not a payment any more than the marriage price is a payment for the bride. It is simply part of the traditional code of reciprocity whereby nothing is ever given for nothing. To-day, at the northern end of the island, near the white man's capital, where the natives have become more sophisticated, some girls go bush with their lovers and receive only a stick of tobacco in return. News of this has trickled down to Lesu, and the old women there speak scornfully of this new custom and of the cheapening of the girls thereby.[1] Yet husbands are not completely oblivious of the economic significance of their wives' *affaires de cœur*. On one occasion, in the not very distant past, many of the Lesu men went to Tabar, and during their absence the wives had intercourse freely with other men. The women thus collected much *tsera* and gave it to the men when they returned home. The husbands, I am told, were much pleased. One woman told me that her husband himself brought the first lover to her because he wanted the *tsera*, and she did not object. This is the exception, however, rather than the rule. Moreover, the husband in this case, now an old man, is by no means an avaricious or greedy man. Several times he brought me bananas and pawpaws, and refused payment for them, saying they were a gift in return for some tobacco I had previously given him. 837 431

No woman is ever taken against her will, and rape by a native is unknown. If a woman does not want to go with a man she merely says "no," giving an excuse or not, as she pleases. Usually she will merely say that she does not feel like it, and that ends the matter. 837 839

Although these women are aware of the causal connection between intercourse and birth, they all told me very emphatically that all their children are their husbands'; for, continue the women, after they have had intercourse with their lover they have it the next day with their husband, and this makes all of the children his. Each woman earnestly 842

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[1] In no way can the extra-marital intercourse for payment be considered similar to the prostitution of our civilization. In New Ireland a woman who did not receive the *tsera* from her lover would have lowered herself and be completely without prestige or position in the community. 558

842 affirms that copulating with her husband afterwards makes the children his. One woman, Numda, was an exception, and frankly told me that two different lovers were the fathers of two of her children. She said she knew this was so because of the resemblance of the children to their respective fathers. Her husband knows it too, as did also the two fathers, one of whom gave *tsera* to his child. Both the lovers died when the children were quite young.

848 851 In this society, where every woman has a husband who accepts all of her children regardless of their actual father, there are no illegitimate children. But, as always, the usual exceptions occur, and there are a few unmarried women—a widow who has not yet remarried, or some young girl who has not married for some reason or other as soon as she has come of age.[1] Now if such an unmarried woman becomes pregnant her lover is under no obligation to marry her, and takes no responsibility for any issue. First, he does not know if the child is really his, as the woman has probably had several lovers. Secondly, all he wanted was intercourse, not marriage, and the Melanesian distinguishes very clearly between the two. His attitude is in striking contrast to that of the husband, who accepts all of his wife's children as his own, regardless of whether they actually are or not. Should an unmarried woman have children, there is no social ostracism of her or the children. Landa, the widow with ringworm disease, has already been mentioned. Her children have no father, but both they and the mother have a social position in the community equal to anyone, and are not affected by the lack of a father and husband. While no
848 773 disgrace is attached to a fatherless child, still it is considered unfortunate not to have a father, one of the

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[1] To-day the reason may be that her betrothed is away working on a plantation, and she is waiting for him to return. But even in the past there were occasionally women who were not married as soon as they came of age. See the individual life histories.

reasons for which is reflected in the myth of the Warawara *malanggan*. 848 113

This myth tells the tale of how some *malanggans* were being displayed, and the men were eating at a feast for them in the enclosure. They refused to let a fatherless boy (an illegitimate one in our sense) join them because he had no *tsera* and no pig. His mother has no husband from whom he can get them. The boy's mother is sorry for him, and says she will teach him how to make a new *malanggan*, so she makes the Warawara *malanggan*. When it is finished she holds a great feast.

In this tale it is the economic motive which appears to be uppermost. The boy is not invited to the feast because he has not contributed anything. However, in actual practice, as in the case of Landa's children, the clan relatives of the fatherless child and the mother would come to his aid with the necessary *tsera*. In the myth it is only the mother who comes to his aid. In discussing hypothetical cases with informants, they all told me that the clan relatives would always help these fatherless children.

FAMILY SENTIMENTS

We have seen, in general, how sexual life outside of marriage fits into the social scheme, and how it may have a certain economic significance in the family life. There remains still the question of whether it has any deeper emotional and personal significance in the life of the family. What is the attitude of the husband towards his wife's lovers? Although we find one social attitude, there is no one inflexible attitude for all husbands. In accordance with the difference in the temperament of the individuals, we find husbands taking varied attitudes toward the lovers of their wives. Some men are jealous, and some are not. Some men gladly accept the *tsera* from their wives, who have received it from their lovers, 593 837

593 and there is no rift in the family. However, others, who are
837 the exceptions rather than the rule, instead of taking the *tsera* fight the wife's lover. There is the same difference in the woman's attitude toward her husband's mistresses. Usually she acquiesces and there is no fuss. But an occasional woman fights another one who has been her husband's mistress. There are even different attitudes in the same individual. One woman told me that sometimes her husband is cross if she has a lover, and at other times he does not mind. The latter is his more usual attitude. If he is aware of the lover and is cross, the lover pays the *tsera* directly to him; at other times the lover gives it to the woman.

593 Jealousy thus exists, even though extra-marital relationships are sanctioned by social custom. I witnessed several
837 jealous fights. One was between two women. Tungat, the
578 husband of Kalumat, had for some time been having sexual relations with Matsuk, a middle-aged widow, who lives in the neighbouring village of Ambwa. She was pregnant, and said that Tungat was the father of her child. Kalumat heard of it and said she was going to Ambwa and fight Matsuk. She went, accompanied by five other Lesu women, but on arriving at the village the fight turned out to be merely a vocal one, and Kalumat announced that she was through with her husband, and would give him up to Matsuk, from whom she demanded *tsera*. There was a sharp exchange of words between the two women, but nothing really happened other than that, and Kalumat continued to live with her husband.

593 Another quarrel was between my own two servants.
578 Kuserek was jealous because her husband Sinbanimous
158 lingers on the beach near the place where all the women are filling up the bamboo stems with water. When he returned she flew into a temper and nagged him to such an extent that he was forced to beat her in order to make her keep quiet. Another time it appeared that he was jealous on her

account. Ladawin, an unmarried youth of the village, was much around the cook-house, and, while he paid attention to Kuserek, he also seemed to be a very good friend of Sinbanimous. All appeared harmonious until one evening, when they and many others from the village were at my house singing songs which I was recording. The evening passed quietly, but at the end of it Sinbanimous grabbed a long knife (which I had given him) and dashed after Ladawin, who ran away as fast as he could. Kuserek and several people from the village ran after the two men in pursuit. They managed to catch up to Sinbanimous and take the knife from him. He returned, went to his house, and immediately fell sound asleep. I was then told that he had gone "mad" temporarily at intervals since childhood, and that these "fits" are attributable to his dead brother's spirit entering into him. He is supposed to be unconscious of what he does on these occasions. The next morning he said that he remembered nothing except that he ran after someone, but he could not recall the pretext. He was rather embarrassed by the whole incident, and did not wish to talk about it. It would seem that there might be some jealousy of Ladawin, even though it was unconscious.[1] 593 578 158

Another man, Lumaris, beat his wife because he was jealous and thought she was conferring favours on someone else. 593 578

Jealousy is a well-known motif in many folk-tales, as shown in the following: 152 539

> Two men make love magic to get two married women. The magic is successful, and the two women and their lovers go to the bush. After a while, when the women do not return from the bush, their husbands, armed with spears, go after them. They find the wives with their lovers and kill the latter. The two women go on

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[1] This attack may have been in the nature of an epileptic equivalent.

593 578 652 539 ahead to the village, while the husbands remain behind and cut up the bodies of the two dead men. They then strew the pieces on the footpath leading into the bush.

The next day the two women see the bones of their former lovers strewn on the footpath. They weep. Then they return home and commit suicide by hanging themselves. Pigs are killed, and the appropriate mortuary feast made by the matrilineal relatives.

It was Maredis who told me this tale, and she added afterwards that the women liked their lovers so much that when the latter died they wanted to die too. It thus illustrates attachment to a lover, as well as jealousy of a husband. The footpath on which the bones of the dead men were scattered is known to-day and was pointed out to me.

Another tale relates how two men, while out fishing, capture a sea-maiden and bring her to the men's house. She stays with them there, sleeping between the two men and having intercourse with both of them. The two wives of the men remain at their houses and knew nothing of the sea-maiden. They give the men baked taro, and the men give them some of the fish they catch, but not as much as usual.

One of the wives grows suspicious and sneaks down to the men's house, and pressing her ear to the wall hears the sea-maiden talk to the men. The wife returns and tells the other wife about it; then both women go secretly to the men's house and listen at the wall. Now they know that their husbands are sleeping with this other woman. They return to their own houses.

The next morning the two men tell the sea-maiden to remain hidden in the men's house, and, fastening the door behind them, they go with their wives to work in the gardens. The men are ignorant of the fact that their wives know about the sea-maiden. The wives

> bring taro back to the house while the men remain 593
> working in the gardens. The two women go to the 578
> men's house and find the sea-maiden hiding under the
> branch of a tree which the men had placed on top of 152
> her. The wives fight the sea-maiden, then go out, fasten 539
> the door, and set fire to the house. The sea-maiden is burned to death. The two men in the gardens smell the fire, and returning, find the men's house burned down. They ask their wives why they set fire to the house, and the women answer: "Ah, we know everything. Why have you hidden this woman from us?" Now the men really like their wives, but they pick up knives and kill them. Then a big mortuary feast is made.[1]

There are many other folk-tales in which men have mistresses and wives lovers, but in which there is no jealousy.

At Lesu social custom and attitude sanctions extra- 837
marital intercourse, and accepts it as correct to such an extent that anyone not indulging in it would be considered abnormal and most unusual. This social attitude is a more

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[1] Another tale concerns a woman with two husbands, one of whom is jealous. The woman shows a decided preference for one husband who has a lighter skin, to whom she gives the best food. She tells the darker-skinned one to go and eat with the pigs, and later further insults him by telling him to copulate with the pigs.

That night the two men plan to go fishing. The spurned husband lies and says that he is ill and cannot go out fishing, so the preferred mate starts out alone. The dark-skinned man then goes to the woman's house and, pretending that he is the other man, tells the woman to open the door. She does so, and is cross when she discovers who it really is that she has let into the house.

When the preferred mate returns from fishing and finds the other man in the house he is very angry and jealous and kills both him and the woman. Then the mortuary feast is made.

There is a similar tale of how the two wives of one man are jealous of a woman who has been formed out of the man's blood and who stands in the relationship of maternal niece to him. The wives insult her by telling her to eat the faeces of a pig, and the man then kills the wives in revenge. These tales are but a few in which jealousy figures as the leading, or at least one of the leading motifs.

837 or less uniform one, to which all the individuals agree, but their personal reactions to it, when it touches them directly, vary. Thus, although the general rule was a lack of jealousy, there were enough exceptions to show once again that these Melanesians differ from each other in much the same way that individuals in our society differ. In New Ireland there is no one rigid emotional attitude followed by everyone, and instead of a simple logical pattern we find a rather complex and sometimes illogical one.[1]

593 Here, as elsewhere, much more exists in the relationship between a man and wife than their sexual life. The daily routine of their life in common has already been described in detail, so that only a brief recapitulation from this point of view is necessary. Together they share the work of taking care of the young children. Their economic labours are nicely divided. The man clears the ground and the woman plants. The man brings the wood for the fire and the woman prepares the taro to be baked. The man fishes and hunts, while the woman tends to the house, feeds the pigs, and fills up the bamboo stems with water. Although the husband and wife of necessity belong to different clans and moieties, to which each one is bound by many ties, economic and otherwise, yet their daily life in common, the sharing of the same responsibilities, their mutual affection for their children, their obedience to the same taboo during the infancy of the children, and all the little incidental ties that make up family life, develop as a rule strong sentiments of affection between the two. It is these which differentiate (among other factors) the relationship between a man and wife and a man and his temporary mistress. The latter relationship is usually merely a sexual and biological one. A woman and her lover

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[1] The problem of the psychological basis of the jealousy can only be posed for further investigation at this point. That is, is the jealousy due to intense love and a resulting desire for complete and sole possession, or is it due to the feeling of inadequacy on the part of the jealous person? The same problem is still to be answered in our own society.

have not gone together through the crises occasioned by the 593
birth and death of children, nor watched over each other
through illness, suffered together over a bad crop or rejoiced
over a good one, sat around the fire and eaten their evening
meal together, or shared the same one-room house for many
years. Out of these is built up affection.

One can apprehend an affectionate attitude, but it is 593
rather difficult to give the concrete details of its existence. 758
However, in times of crises, such as illness, it is seen quite 152
clearly. Then the mate carefully looks after the ill one and
does everything possible to show his affection. This was
brought out particularly during the illness of Pulong, whose
baby was born prematurely and died. Pulong lost consciousness and was quite ill. No one knew whether she would live or die. She was lying on the bed inside her mother's house, and was surrounded by the women of her own and neighbouring hamlets, some of whom rubbed her with powdered lime over which magic had been said and gave other native medicines. Outside, in front of the house, Ongas her husband sat. He seemed completely isolated and alone. When the women inside wept, he too wept a little. Then he stopped weeping and just sat with bowed back, his head in his hands, a picture of great grief and loneliness. Because his wife's illness was connected with childbirth it was taboo for him to enter the house where she was lying. The other men of the hamlet, including the woman's maternal uncle, went about their business as usual. One man mended his house. Others brought in firewood and were busy with preparations for a small feast. But Ongas sat alone and apart from the others. As Luluai he must attend the feast, but it was unthinkable that he should eat in the midst of his sorrow.

Toward the end of the day eight women carried Pulong from the house where she had been lying to an empty house on the beach, because they thought it would be more com-

593 152 758 fortable for her to lie on the sand which formed the floor than on the rather narrow bamboo bed. Ongas, with his daughter, went into this house and sat on the bed close to where Pulong was lying on the sand. This was the first time he had seen his wife since she gave birth to the dead infant, and he wept. Presently he got up and took the fishing-net, which stood in the corner, out of the house and put it in another house. This seemed to be merely for the sake of something to do, although there was a vague idea that the fishing-net might be in the way. Then he brought a coconut shell filled with powdered lime from the house where Pulong had been to where she now was. The other men had gone to another feast at the far end of the village, but Ongas remained at home, grieving.

The next day Pulong was a little better, and it was thought that she would live. Yesterday that was considered doubtful. Then Ongas could not talk about it, but when the danger was past he was able to tell me how terribly sad he felt yesterday when he thought his wife was going to die, and that when he thought of the future without her he did not know how he could bear it. Who would look after him? And the loss of companionship! There was no mistaking either [826] his very real grief or his true affection for his wife. His sorrow, like all other emotions, was felt in his abdomen.

Pulong continued to improve, and in a few days' time she walked a few paces for the first time. Ongas held her affectionately by the arm and half supported her as she took a few steps on the beach. However, she quickly felt faint. The next day Ongas roamed the bush looking for sugar-cane, for which she had expressed a desire. A few days later he made a new bed for her, which he said would be more comfortable than the old one. When he was not busy getting a coconut, or sugar-cane, or performing some other service for his sick wife, he sat either in the house with her or in front. He was the perfectly devoted husband. In attendance

also on the sick woman were her daughter and her mother's 593
sister (who stands in the relationship of mother to her, her 152
own mother being dead). The other women of the hamlet, 758
when not busy in their gardens or with their cooking, sat in front of the house where the ill woman was confined.

Gradually she improved. At the end of a week she walked slowly, with the aid of a bamboo pole, to her own house, just because she wanted to look at it. This was her home, to which she was strongly attached, so she desired to see it. But the little walk left her very short-winded. After she assured herself that everything was all right in her home she returned to the beach house, where she stayed for another week before going finally to her own house. At the end of a couple of weeks she had completely recovered, except for being rather short of breath, and was again at work in the garden.

When Nunda, an old woman, was ill, her husband, Towi, showed the same kind of affectionate care of his wife as did Ongas. In all the other cases of illness which I witnessed there was this same affectionate attitude between mates.

QUARRELS

Yet this does not prevent quarrels, which sometimes grow 593
to wife-beating between these very same mates. For a husband 578
to beat a wife is no uncommon incident, and it happens in the happiest of marriages. It is considered a normal part of married life, and, as one native man said (as a statement of fact rather than cynically), "Beating one's wife is the custom of marriage." I witnessed many domestic quarrels, and I heard about others. There is nothing secret or intimate about a family quarrel. It is usually noisy, and both seen and heard by anyone who happens to be in the neighbourhood. It causes no surprise, and is taken as a part of the daily routine. The incidents which give rise to them are generally

593 the rather small irritable pricks which happen in families
578 anywhere in the world.

Tsuk's husband quarrelled with her because she did not cook some food when he thought it should be cooked. He spoke some angry words to her, and then hit her. She cried, left her home—which is in the hamlet of Onel—and went to her mother's house in another hamlet, Ponatlege. I saw her there, and she said she would come home when her husband came to fetch her, but not before. He said (a few days after the quarrel) that he would eventually go and get her, but was not then ready to do so. About a week later he went after her and brought her home, and all was well. This is the routine of a quarrel between mates.

Kaptan has a reputation for quarrelling very frequently with his wife, Malala. Once another man gave Kaptan a pawpaw to keep in his house until it became ripe. Malala, not knowing about this arrangement, saw that the pawpaw was ripe and ate a portion of it. While she was eating it Kaptan came up and saw her and was very angry, because, he said, the pawpaw belonged to his friend Towi, and not to him. In his anger he slapped his wife across the face. She cried and made no attempt to hit back. Her father Niknik, and her brother (classificatory) Taupis, who live in the same hamlet, came to her rescue. Niknik hit Kaptan across the back, and Taupis punched him in the nose and mouth, causing the latter to bleed. Kaptan, angrier than ever, went to the bush village from which he originally came and said that he was through with his wife and would not return to her.

Later both Niknik and Taupis went after him and each offered him two *tsera* if he would return. He refused, and said that he would stay where he was and later marry another woman. On returning, Niknik and Taupis discussed the matter with Ongas, the Luluai, asking his advice. He suggested that Kaptan and Taupis fight again, and that

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Taupis allow Kaptan to hit him on the jaw and give him a bloody nose. In this way, said Ongas, there would be a reciprocity in blows. But Taupis refused this method of reconciliation. Then Ongas said he would talk to Kaptan and see what he could do. Ongas would like Kaptan to return to Lesu because he is such a good worker and a real help in communal undertakings.

About a week later Kaptan came back to Lesu and took from his wife's father and brother the *tsera* he had originally paid for her, and also a pig they had been keeping for him. He went away, saying that he would return later, but this his wife did not believe, for, she asked, "Why did he take the *tsera* and pig if he means to return?" She then came to stay with Maerabit, of the same clan and a classificatory maternal grandmother. Ongas, in the meantime, did his best to persuade Kaptan to return, and about a week later the latter did come back. He kept the returned marriage payment, which was considered as recompense for the blows he had received. The couple began living together again.

This, I was told, is not an orthodox quarrel according to Lesu custom. All the people concerned in it are from the bush, and a father and brother coming to the aid of a woman in a quarrel with her husband is a custom of the bush villages,[1] but not of the coast people. Here a brother would be "ashamed" to interfere, and a father also would take no part in the quarrel. A maternal uncle might interfere, but not necessarily so.

Kaptan and Malala do not live long in peace. He caught some fish one day but gave none to her. He gave two to Palou, one of her clan relatives, who in turn gave one to Malala. Kaptan saw her about to eat it and was furious

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[1] There were formerly villages back in the hills, but most of the people have now come down to the coast. However, a few remnants of the bush villages still remain.

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and grabbed the fish from her, saying that it was not Palou's fish but his. Kaptan's action was contrary to all customary rules of conduct, as a man always gives part of his catch to his wife. After this quarrel Malala went again to stay with Maerabit, her classificatory maternal grandmother. Eventually the quarrel was patched up and once more they lived together. The village people, in discussing the domestic quarrels of this couple, say that it is a peculiar custom of Kaptan's and not theirs, "But," they continue with a shrug of their shoulders, "what can be done about it? He is the quarrelling kind." Since every possible incident is seized upon as a cause for a quarrel, Kaptan and Malala are obviously not well mated.

Tukan and Kuta, usually a rather amiable couple, whose house was diagonally across from mine, were heard shouting angrily at each other one day in their open compound. People passing by were politely unconcerned, and seemed to pay no attention to the quarrel. It appeared that Kuta gave her husband Tukan a half string of *tsera* to purchase some native tobacco to pay the women taking part in the *Grimisi* dance at Tsuros' first menstruation rites.[1] Tukan, on his way to buy the tobacco, stopped to eat at a feast at the far end of the village. He stayed a long time at the feast, and finally returned home without the tobacco.

Then Kuta was cross. She asked angrily why he did not get the tobacco, and he replied that he had stopped to eat. She took the *tsera* from him and said that now he need not get the tobacco at all. Furthermore, she continued, she would not go to the *Grimisi* dance rehearsals any more, nor would she participate in any way in the preparations for Tsuros' feast. Tsuros is of the same clan as Tukan, and the non-appearance of his wife at her rites would reflect unfavourably on her husband. This also seemed to satisfy the martyr spirit (for she enjoyed the dance rehearsals) so

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[1] Described in Chapter V.

frequently noticed in the women in quarrels with their husbands. 578
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So she was absent from the nightly dance rehearsals. A few days later Tukan killed a bush pig and held a feast in Tsuros' hamlet, the purpose of which was to end the quarrel between himself and his wife. Although the feast was a masculine one which Kuta did not attend, it ended the quarrel. Then she joined in the dance rehearsals and took full part in the preparations for the feast

Quarrels between my servants Sinbanimous and Kuserek have already been mentioned. Jealousy was the cause of most of them. Kuserek was angry and jealous one night, and began to nag Sinbanimous when he returned home from a dance rehearsal. Her jealousy appeared to be directed not against any one woman in particular, but just against women in general. (She seemed always to be jealous when Sinbanimous was out of her sight.) That night she nagged him a good bit, but finally they went to sleep. The next morning she began on the same theme and gave him no peace. Then she made him do what was usually her work in bringing my breakfast to the table. She in the meantime sat on the rear of my porch with another woman. They were making cat's cradle, and laughed rather insolently and very uproariously every time Sinbanimous passed by. Finally he could stand it no longer. He came out of the cook-house with a spoon in his hand and quickly hit her over the cheek with it. She began to cry. Several women came up and sided with Kuserek. Sinbanimous seemed very much alone, as all the men appeared disinterested. Kuserek packed her few belongings and went to the hamlet of Pombumbu, where it happened that her mother's sister was visiting. Before she went I suggested that I put a dressing on the cut in her cheek, but this she refused to have done. She seemed to get a certain pleasurable sensation of martyrdom in having everyone see the blood on her cheek.

578 While she was away Sinbanimous told me that his anger
593 was over as soon as he hit her. He added that there was only one way to stop her when she began nagging and that was to beat her. She would sulk for a couple of days, and then it would be over. In discussing it further Sinbanimous added that Kuserek was really a very fine girl, but there were times when he just didn't understand her, and wished she would not talk so much. A beating was the only thing she feared.

Kuserek stayed away overnight, but returned the next day. However, the quarrel was not yet over. She did not talk to her husband, and slept at her friend Pulong's house. She insisted upon doing my laundry, although there was ritual dancing at Ponatlege to which I knew she wanted to go. I told her it was not necessary to do the washing to-day, but she replied haughtily that she would do it anyway. I think that she was again indulging her feeling of being a martyr.

A few days later they started talking casually to each other, and that night they slept together. The quarrel was over.[1]

Quarrels and beatings occur even in the household of Ongas and Pulong, who seem to be a model of quiet, happy domesticity. Ongas went fishing one night and a fish bit his foot. When he came home he told his wife and daughter about it. They thought he was joking or fooling, and

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[1] As a whole Sinbanimous and Kuserek are devoted to each other and get on quite well together, except for a quarrel which occurs about once a month. One fight was really quite violent. Sinbanimous hit Kuserek, and when he stopped she egged him on, calling him foul names and saying tauntingly that she was not afraid of him, and did he think he was a strong man, and even attempting to hit back. Thus provoked he beat her again. When he stopped she continued to provoke him further, and so it went on until he threw her through the frail bamboo wall of the cook-house. She was then too exhausted to irritate him more. Her eyes were bulging, and she was transformed by anger and temper. She left immediately and went to Tarengam, a hamlet where some distant maternal relatives lived and stayed with them. But in a few days' time she returned, and all was peaceful until the next time.

laughed. He then became very cross (his foot was paining 578
him at the same time) and hit Pulong, who fell down on 593
the floor. The daughter ran to the mother, trying to protect her. Pulong cried, and then both she and her daughter left home and went to the house of a classificatory mother, where they stayed for several days. They then returned home and Ongas offered them some pig. The happy family was reunited.

Thus does happy family life continue in its not always placid course. As we have seen, quarrels arise out of jealousy, irritation over some trifle, bad humour, and such other incidental causes, and the quarrels frequently lead to the beating of the wife by the husband. However, in no beating witnessed did the husband make full use of his strength. Each time he exercised a decided self-restraint in his blows. These provided an outlet for his anger, which thus soon vanished. The woman left home immediately, giving time for the emotional storm to blow over. The few days of absence offer quiet relief and time for each to recover from the disturbance. When she returns home the quarrel and the incident causing it are completely forgotten. The air is cleared; there is no sulking; peace again pervades the household. Seen in this setting (and from the point of view of a native) wife-beating seems to be a rather workable arrangement to maintain that equilibrium necessary in family life, and not a tyrannical act of unjust brute strength which those of our culture might imagine it to be. It must be remembered also that the wife has a way of punishing her husband, for she may expose him to ridicule in her speeches at various rites. At the marriage and birth feasts I listened to the women making speeches about the ability or lack of it that their husbands displayed in providing them with food. Ridicule was the sharp weapon directed against the lazy man.

DIVORCE

586 The kind of quarrels just described do not as a rule lead to divorce, which, however, does occur occasionally, usually because one mate neglects his responsibilities, or one of them forms a real attachment for someone else and ceases to care for the first mate. The economic motive, neglect of duties, is the more usual cause. A man will divorce his wife if she does not prepare his food for him as she should, or if she eats it before he returns home, or if she does not feed the pigs, neglects her garden work or any of the other tasks for which she is responsible. A woman divorces her husband if he is lazy, if he refuses to clear the bush ground for a garden, does not give her fish, fails to bring wood for the fires, and so on. Quite simply, then, divorce is usually caused by one mate or the other not sharing in the responsibilities for carrying on the household. Once divorced for this reason, a man or woman will have difficulty in getting another mate. They will be marked as lazy, and, although they may have lovers or mistresses, it will be very difficult for them to re-marry.

A change in emotional attitude, fickleness, or attachment to someone else, are also causes—although more infrequent ones—for divorce. There are always a few constitutionally fickle people, and particularly is this true to-day, when polygamy and polyandry are rather frowned upon and monogamy the more usual course. A woman may form a permanent attachment with her lover, and the husband, who may be tired of her anyway, will then divorce her.

Regardless of whether the husband or wife initiates the divorce, the marriage payment is returned to the husband by the wife's clan relatives, who received it at the time of marriage. The children always go with their mother, although exceptions have been known when a boy of ten or twelve years stayed with his father.

Only two divorces occurred in Lesu while I was there, and even then there were certain modern and introduced factors which at least provided a setting for the conditions leading to the divorce. Uren was the husband of Kuin, and worked on a plantation about fifteen miles from Lesu. At first Kuin, who is from Lesu, lived with him on the plantation, but after a while he sent her back to Lesu to live with her mother. He said that he had to be gone frequently on errands for his "ma[illegible]r," and then his wife was always having intercourse with all the plantation boys, and he did not like her promiscuity. Also, this was not done according to native custom, and gifts of *tsera* were not made by the lovers to the husband.

At Lesu there also lived Pakul and his wife Nakou. Pakul has a sensuous mouth and a reputation for being very licentious. He has been married many times, and never sticks to any wife very long. When he marries everyone says that he "marries fooling or lying," for all know that soon another woman will catch his fancy. Kuin and Pakul have been having intercourse for some time, both stealing out of their homes at night and going into the bush. News of it gets about and travels to the husband who is away on the plantation. He comes to Lesu, beats his wife, then has a talk with Pakul, telling the latter that he can keep Kuin and make a payment to him for her. Ongas, who is a clan relative of Kuin, and also the Luluai, is called in and tells Kuin and Pakul they must each pay Uren five *tsera*, setting a day in the near future for the settlement of the matter. In the meantime the divorce is arranged between Pakul and his wife Nakou, whose clan relatives return the *tsera* and loin-cloths which he paid for her. These were sent to Ongas, who is acting as an intermediary.

In the late afternoon of the day Ongas had set for the final settlement, the whole village assembled in his compound and outside of it. Ongas acts as a chairman. First he asks Uren if he is willing to let Kuin go and to receive *tsera* in payment. Uren replies "Yes," and says he is through with Kuin, for she is always having intercourse with someone or other. Ongas now turns to Kuin and asks her if she wants to leave Uren. She replies that she does not want to look at him any more, for since Pakul has made magic for her she can look only at him. Now Ongas speaks to Pakul and asks him if he wants to marry Kuin. To this he answers "Yes." Ongas then asks him and Kuin for the *tsera*. Pakul produces five *tsera*, but Kuin is silent and embarrassed, and produces none. Then someone explains that she has no *tsera*, and that her clan relatives, to whom she had gone for assistance, refused to help her out. Ongas overcomes this dilemma by telling Pakul that he must pay for her. Pakul goes to his house, which is close by, and comes back in a few moments with six *tsera*, which Ongas hands over to Uren. The latter is then asked by Ongas if he is satisfied with the payment. Uren replies "No," that he wants more. Ongas now brings out the payments returned by Nakou's relatives, which were supposed to be given to Pakul, and says that contrary to the usual custom he is going to give half this payment to Uren and half to Pakul. This he proceeds to do. Again Ongas asks Uren if he is satisfied, and this time the latter replies "Yes." Then Ongas asks the same question of Pakul, who also replies "Yes," adding that he now has the woman, Uren the *tsera*, and all is well. Nakou, his recently divorced wife, is not present. These proceedings have taken about four hours. After it is all over Ongas sagely remarks that before the year is over Pakul will have another wife.[1]

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[1] The above "court" is somewhat of an innovation and was held to settle the matter quietly and keep it from the attention of the white Government and its administrative officers. Pakul should have given *tsera* to Uren all along for the privilege of his relationship with Kuin, but it is not expected that the average white official would realize this. The divorce would then have been effected by simply returning the

Divorce is not exactly common. The two just described 586 were the only ones taking place over an interval of ten and a half months among 232 people.

There are the usual exceptions, and Lumaeris was one of 586 these. He is a middle-aged man who has had ten wives at 587 different times, and here is his tale. When he was a youth of about fifteen he went to the neighbouring island of Tabar, where he lived with a classificatory brother. There he married Malanga, a Tabar girl, and had one child, a boy. Not very long after the birth of the boy, Lumaeris decided he wanted to return to Lesu, but his wife did not want to come. They were divorced, and she remained in Tabar and married another man.

Lumaeris returned to Lesu and there married Petterin, by whom he had two children. A bit later Lumaeris went away to work on a distant plantation. Petterin divorced him and remarried. At the plantation Lumaeris married again, this time a girl named Mamamlis, and there was one child from this marriage. When his time on the plantation was finished Lumaeris returned alone to Lesu. His third wife and child returned to the wife's village and she remarried.

This time when Lumaeris returned to Lesu he married Bombo, and, while still married to her, took a second wife, Lameth. Both the women were young, and all three got on quite well together. However, Lameth died, and Bombo left her husband to go away and work on the mainland of New Guinea for a white man.

Lumaeris went again to Tabar and there married Keitow. After about a year Lumaeris wished to return to Lesu, but his wife refused to leave Tabar, so they were divorced.

Once again he was back in Lesu, and now he married Lepaei, from the village of Pasawa, but they both lived at

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original marriage payment, and it would have all been settled *en famille*, as was the divorce of Nakou and Pakul.

586 Lesu. They were likewise divorced because, according to 587 his story, she did not like Lesu and wanted to return to her own place.

Lumaeris continued his matrimonial adventures, and now married Bebele from a village about twenty miles from Lesu. They lived together at Lesu for many years until she died. Then he married Murit, who comes from a bush village. She is still living and the two are still married, but she is old, with one eye gone, and unable to work. So recently (a few years ago) he took an additional wife, Kuti, who is both young and attractive. This is his matrimonial status at the present time. Of his ten wives, two died and two are still living with him. The remaining six either left him or refused to leave their own village or island when Lumaeris wanted to wander about. In most of his marriages Lumaeris was unwilling to follow the custom of matrilocal residence. Whether there were other reasons, physical or psychological, which might account for his seeming inability to hold a woman for any length of time I do not know.

SEX TABOOS

835 Up to now, in discussing sexual life, we have stressed what people do rather than what they are forbidden to do. A study of the prohibitions or taboos is likewise necessary to an understanding of people's actions. First there is the most important rule of exogamy. No Eagle man may marry or have relationship with a woman of his own moiety, and the same applies to men and women of the Hawk moiety. So to each man half the women of the society are forbidden, and to each woman half the men are forbidden. It is merely an extension of the brother-sister taboo applied to all
835 members of the same moiety. Infringement of this taboo is
684 the worse crime of the society, and the punishment is death.
762 Usually the two people who break this taboo commit suicide,

the most common form of which is throwing oneself from a 835
tree. If they did not do this they would be killed by their 684
own clan relatives. Of those people who break the taboo 762
and are not found out, we can, of course, know nothing.

Other taboos cannot compete in seriousness with incest, 834
and are mainly concerned with occupations or with certain periods in the life of the individual. Most of the sexual occupational taboos have already been mentioned in the discussion of economic structure, and are merely summarized here.

Taboos observed before fishing, hunting wild pig, going to war: a man may not have intercourse the night before, and if it is a shark-fishing expedition continence must be observed for a month in advance. Also, if possible, he should not eat with a pregnant woman or look at menstrual blood. If his wife is pregnant he may not go on any of these expeditions.

Making of *tsera* (not a Lesu occupation): a man engaged in this task must have no sexual relations with anyone while making the currency.

There are no sex taboos connected with house-building, making a canoe, or any other work.

Taboo connected with pregnancy and infancy:

1. During pregnancy the woman must be continent.
2. During the infancy of the child (suckling period) both the mother and her husband must be continent.

The breaking of these taboos brings its own punishment: bad luck and no success in the occupations, and illness for the child in the case of taboo connected with pregnancy and infancy; but breaking the incest taboo is considered a crime against society, which, through the agency of the clan, punishes violators. Other taboos concern only the individuals who violate them. If they are broken, the individual breaking them will have bad luck in his occupation, or some ill fortune will befall him. There is a direct relationship

834 between keeping the taboos and success, and they are functionally similar to magic. Both are designed to bring success. If not practised there will be no success. They may be called personal or individual taboos, i.e. only the individual is directly concerned. There is, of course, always the force of social prestige acting to maintain all customs, but in the case of the individual taboo, it is the bad luck supposed to follow their violation which is the main force in keeping them functioning. If a man should break the taboo on intercourse before he went shark-fishing, neither he nor anyone else would have confidence in his fishing, but he would not be punished otherwise. But should he break
[684] the incest taboo, then he cannot live. He has done an irretrievable social wrong, and society will not tolerate his presence. Some taboos and customs not connected with sex, but more related to economic structure, such as the law of reciprocity, the custom of never asking for a return gift, etc., are likewise in the social class. The punishment for infringing one of these customs is complete loss of social prestige. This is in the same class with death punishment, only in a lesser degree.

DREAMS

154 It is interesting to see how the taboos are reflected in
835 dreams, myths, and obscene expressions. I was given to understand that incestuous dreams are fairly common. A man will frequently dream of having intercourse with a woman of his own moiety, sometimes it will be his real sister, his mother, his cross-cousin, and at other times some unrelated woman of his moiety. If a man has such a dream he is much ashamed of it, and rarely talks about it. Only those informants with whom I was very friendly, and who gave me their full confidence, would admit that they ever had these incestuous dreams. When they did talk about them their shame was clearly expressed in their attitude

and voice. Thus, a man in a low voice and with his eyes 154 cast on the ground (an unusual attitude) would haltingly 835 tell me that he dreamed of having relations with a woman of his own moiety. Other people whom I did not know so well would not admit having such a dream themselves, but said that other people had them. The dream appears to be a clear-cut wish fulfilment. Other dreams of which they 154 are much ashamed are those of intercourse with a pig, or a 839 dog, although the latter does not occur nearly as often as the former. Every man and woman with whom I discussed the subject earnestly said that people never had intercourse with pigs or dogs. There was not a single exception to this statement.[1] The same informants said that intercourse between members of the same moiety was forbidden, but that occasionally it did happen. It is therefore rather interesting that dreams of relationship with pigs and dogs should be put into the same class as incestuous ones, in that they are both considered shameful. A native is ashamed of even dreaming of a pig, even if intercourse is not in the dream.[2]

Other dreams which I was able to collect are as follows 154 (unless otherwise indicated, the dream was collected from both men and women):

That a snake is wound around the dreamer's body and that

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[1] However, I heard from other sources, which I was unable to check, that on another part of the island it was not unknown for people to have relations with pigs.

[2] I learned of incestuous dreams and the attitude toward them through informants, but I stumbled across the attitude toward dreams of pigs accidentally. I was frequently awakened at night by the grunts of pigs just outside my house. One morning I told a native friend that I thought I heard the pigs the night before, but I wasn't sure, that maybe I just dreamed that I heard them. At this she looked rather startled, lowered her voice, and said she would tell no one, and that it would be a secret between us. Interested and amused, I drew her on, and found that to dream of pigs was something of which to be ashamed. Other friends and informants soon supported this statement.

154 he is very much scared; he manages to free himself of the snake.

That the dreamer is trying to catch someone who is running away and to whom he never catches up.

That the dreamer is dancing.

That the dreamer climbs to the top of a tree, falls down, and dies. (This is a common form of suicide.)

That the dreamer is eaten by a pig.

That the dreamer (a man) kills another man, and that he then bathes in the sea and is eaten by a fish.

That his dead mother comes back and talks to him and says how she likes to look at him once more.

That the dreamer is embracing a person of the opposite sex.

That he is going to the island of Tabar in a canoe.

That he is standing on his head.

That he kills a phalanger.

That the dreamer is eating taro.

That the dreamer (a woman) is planting taro.

That the dreamer (a woman) is preparing the taro to be baked.

That the dreamer (a woman) is on the top of a tree by the sea.

Dream of a dead child.

Of the above dreams a man or woman is not ashamed, and an informant talked freely of them to me. However, I gather that for some reason, which I was unable to learn, the natives do not talk much about any dream to each other. On the surface, it would seem that they are just not interested in dreams, and also that they do not dream so very frequently, or do not remember them. However, these points would bear further investigation.

OBSCENITY

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Insulting terms and obscene phrases used in quarrels are frequently concerned with the forbidden incestuous relationship and with relationship with pigs. The very worst expression you can fling at a man is *Umba kigi no maionga* (you copulate with your sister). Only a little bit less insulting is *Umba kigi no nangga* (you copulate with your mother). Very insulting also, and just a trifle less so, is the taunt

Umba kigi no bul (you copulate with pig). If the first insult, the one concerned with the sister, is used, the man so taunted would feel obliged to kill his sister, but not the man who flung the taunt. But he does not kill his mother nor a pig, if taunts are made concerning them. Almost as insulting, but not quite in the same class, is *Umba oning tega tsinu bul* (you eat the faeces of the pig). This is considered a most humiliating taunt, and the incident occurs frequently in quarrels in folk-tales.[1]

Other obscene expressions used in angry quarrels refer directly to the sexual organs. Such expressions are: *Konum toktok* (red vagina), *Konum pung* (black vagina), *Konum wunwung* (open vagina), *Umba a lut* (you big penis), *Jitisit* (referring to the act of copulation). Another expression, *Umba bol* (you pig), is in the category of obscenity, although of a different nature. None of these expressions are used in everyday conversation, but are heard only when a person loses his temper in an angry quarrel. They appear to have a similar function to profanity and obscenity used in quarrels in our society, and serve as an outlet for the speaker's emotion. The above phrases are never used to be funny, or as part of a clever obscene story. They are meant as insults. In general one may refer to sexual matters quite openly in conversation, but one may not refer to the sexual life of a man in front of his sister or cross-cousin, or *vice versa*. That would be considered very shameful, and to a minor degree the same kind of shame is felt before an *onga* (sister's husband). There is one old man, Towi, however, who, contrary to all traditions, frequently refers to the sexual organs of a man whose sister is present. This man is then

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[1] One tale tells how a woman and child were sitting on top of a *ilini* tree, and how, when the child defecated, the mother threw the faeces down on a man named Runatumna who was standing under the tree. He was so angry that he killed and ate the woman and child.

This is just one of many tales in which the throwing of faeces is regarded as a deadly insult.

831 578 so ashamed that he has to make a payment of *tsera* to the sister who has heard Towi's remarks. The payment seems to be a sort of compensation. Now Towi appears to think he is funny in talking like this, but no one else appreciates the fun. All the men are rather disgusted with him, who, they tell me, has had the habit ever since he was quite young. His brother Ballock follows him in this habit, but not to the same degree.

831 539 Various myths and folk-tales already given illustrate several of the points under discussion. Others, too, have a sexual significance.

> A man tells his wife that he is going fishing. He goes to the beach and puts his penis in the water. Then he comes back and eats with his wife. The next morning he goes to the beach again and his penis falls down into the water. (Laughter from the audience at this point of the tale.) Then the man stands in the shallow water and says: *Tnginidol tnginidol* (penis remain in sea). The penis is left in the water, and the man returns to the house. He lies to his wife and says he is ill.
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> The next day the man tells his wife to go to the garden while he goes fishing. The woman, who suspects something, pretends to go to the garden, but hides and follows her husband to the beach. He stands up again in the shallow water where his penis is and repeats the phrase *Tnginidol tnginidol*, and goes away. The wife has heard it, and after the man leaves she takes the penis out of the water, carries it home, and bakes it with a bundle of taro wrapped in a banana leaf.
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> Later the man goes to the beach and cannot find his penis. He cries out: "Who has taken my penis? By and by I will want to copulate and then my wife will see that I have no penis."
>
> He goes home, and his wife gives him the bundle of

> taro which contains the penis. He does not recognize it, and eats it with the taro. Then his wife says: "You eat your penis!"
>
> The husband: "What's that you're saying?"
>
> The wife: "Oh, nothing; I am talking about the pigs."
>
> The husband persists: "What's that you're saying?"
>
> The wife: "You have eaten your own penis. Before you lied to me. You said you were going fishing, and instead you left your penis in the water. Now you've just finished eating it."
>
> The man is furious and kills his wife. Then a big feast is made for her.

The origin myth from Medina (in another linguistic unit of New Ireland) might also have a phallic significance. Marruni is considered to be the original creator of society, and his name signifies earthquake.[1] He appears to have caused or come as a volcanic eruption, and is the source of all knowledge for the Medina people as Tsenabonpil is for the Lesu people.[2]

> Marruni had the body of a man, but an exceptionally long tail, resembling a snake. He had two wives, who, it seems, were normal women. It was taboo for them to look at his tail, and when he sat down he dug a big hole in the ground and the tail went inside the hole and he sat down on top of the hole. When the wives went to their garden in the bush the tail came out and circled around a big area; then when the wives returned they would call out and the tail would go into the hole again. One day the wives returned and did not call out as they approached, so when they came up to Marruni

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[1] In the Lesu language the name for earthquake is *tebucata*.

[2] See page 34.

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they saw his tail. Marruni was both cross and ashamed, and said that they must go back to their own place. They went back to their village on one of the Tabar islands, where they stayed and later died.

Marruni remained in New Ireland. He cut his tail into segments and gave to each segment the name of the clan, and from this came the people of the clans. Also some segments were marked as birds, snakes, fish, pigs, etc. Some segments he threw into the sea, and these became the fish. Others he threw away into the bush, and these are the bush animals.

Marruni came from Tabar, the village of Moari on Tsimberi, and the *malanggan* rites came from there too. He brought with him from this place both the magic and *malanggan* rites.

Myth of Stone that ran away to Tabar

This myth concerns a stone, part of which is still on the beach in front of the hamlet Tarengam.

In the past this stone was very much bigger than it is now. Formerly when the women returned from their gardens they would put their straw petticoats on this stone (*tmuhlik*) and then go to wash in the sea. This was done every day. The stone was very cross because it did not like having the petticoats on top of it. The stone was ashamed because the petticoats belonged to the buttocks of the women and stank. Finally the stone could stand it no longer and ran away to Tabar. But part of the stone remained behind.

From that time on the women put their petticoats on the sand.

Another Tale of a Woman who comes from a Man's Blood

There was a man who lived in the bush village of Lenopil. He was clearing his garden when he cut his hand, and the blood from the cut ran over a coconut shell, which he put by the fire near the door to dry. From the blood comes a girl. At first he does not see her, then he sees her standing in the doorway. From that time on they stop together, and the man gives her food. 831 539

The man has two brothers who live near by. They go to get fire from their brother and see the girl there. They come back to their house, discuss the girl, and later purposely make the fire die several times in order to have an excuse to go to the brother house and get fire and so see the girl. They do this many times. Finally the man asks: "Why do you come? Do you want to marry the girl? If you marry her you must cook for her, not she for you. She is not a true woman. She came up from my blood." The brothers say Yes, they will marry her.

The girl now goes to the home of the two brothers. They go to the bush to kill a *kapun* and tell the girl to cook. She cooks good food.

Then she sings a ditty near a hole in the ground:

Kandei dil aro
Calls out name of husbands.

Nunguaura roarimani leru rare rare
I came from the blood of my relative.

The husbands in the bush hear the singing and come back. The girl continues singing, adding that by and by she will fall down the hole along the ground. She then falls down the hole and dies. Then the man from whose blood she came was very cross with his two brothers. He locked them inside the house, set fire to it, and they were burned to death[1]

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[1] Note that in this and the other similar tale of a woman emerging from the man's blood (see p. 251) the woman was not his wife, but considered one of his same totemic clan.

PERVERSION

838 Up to now the more or less normal sexual life has been described and no mention made of any abnormalities or perversions. Practically none of these exist. There is no homosexuality, and they had never heard of such a phenomenon. When I said that such a practice was occasionally found among other peoples, the Lesu people were surprised and rather horrified. Boys and young men are frequently [572] seen walking arm in arm, or with an arm thrown affectionately over a friend's shoulder, but this indicates friendship only. It must be remembered that here there is no restriction on a man showing affection, and that a father fondles a baby as much as the mother does.

839 All informants very emphatically assert that there is no intercourse between human beings and animals—pigs, dogs, birds, phalangers, or any other animal. Yet they take as a matter of course the folk-tales and myths in which frequent mention is made of marriages and sexual intercourse with birds and other animals. (A pig is never featured in this connection, however.) No attempt is made to justify the happenings in the tales or to correlate them with present-day life. Whether the type of intercourse mentioned so frequently in the tales ever took place or not is a matter of conjecture for the ethnologist. Natives insist it does not take place to-day, and that it never has. Women sometimes [231] suckle young pigs just after they are born if the mother pig happens to be away in the bush. This is not considered unusual or in any way abnormal. Karot, of Lesu, nursed a pig while I was there.

Masturbation, not generally considered a perversion in our own society, is practised frequently at Lesu, and regarded as normal behaviour. A woman will masturbate if she is sexually excited and there is no man to satisfy her. A couple may be having intercourse in the same house, or near enough for her to see them, and she may thus become aroused. She then sits down and bends her right leg so that her heel presses against her genitalia. Even young girls of about six years may do this quite casually as they sit on the ground. The women and men talk about it freely, and there is no shame attached to it. It is a customary position for women to take, and they learn it in childhood. They never use their hands for manipulation. 839

I am not so sure of the degree to which masculine masturbation exists. I never witnessed it, and my information on the subject is of a contradictory nature and not thorough enough to be of any value.

It is known that some people like sexual intercourse more than others, but I heard of no one who indulged to such an extent that they might be considered abnormal. One married woman who was supposed to like it excessively was thought "mad." She was unable to talk, and could only make meaningless sounds, having been that way since infancy, and she was not thought to have much understanding. It was her custom to show how much she liked intercourse by putting the index finger of one hand through a circle formed by the thumb and index finger of the other hand. This method of indicating one's desires was considered to be the manner of a "mad" person. There is only one folk-tale about a woman who died from excessive intercourse. Sexual perversion scarcely exists. 833 158

LIFE HISTORIES

The following accounts are those of middle-aged and old women (unless otherwise indicated), and are concerned primarily with their sexual life. Other events of their life followed the traditional cultural pattern. 159

Nunda was born in the hamlet of Penguli, and had the

159 usual early childhood. While she was still very young, Limboisa, who was married to her sister Leipa, wanted to be betrothed to her, but he was not accepted.[1] Her parents died in her childhood, and she went to live with her maternal uncle in the bush village of Ponanwiukok. She came back to Penguli, however, before she reached puberty, and then Towi asked to be betrothed to her. He talked to all her clan relatives, and they gave their consent. Then Nunda went to the hamlet of Panat and lived with Towi's mother, Toras. Shortly after this her first menses appeared, and there were the usual rites, followed by the marriage ritual.

159 837 Then her married and sex life with her husband began. Shortly after her marriage she began to go to the bush with her lovers. About once a month was the average. I could not find out the exact frequency of her relationship with her husband, but it was evidently according to desire. Two of her children, she told me, were the children of two lovers, and she knew this because of the resemblance between them and the children. Towi knew it also, but was not cross. She added that he liked the *tsera* which he had received from all her lovers. He later took another wife, known as wife number two. She died some time ago and had no children.

159 888 Nunda never ate either the sterility or abortive leaves, and has had four children, only one of whom is now living. To-day she and her husband live in Panat (her husband's hamlet), where her daughter, who is married and has two children, also lives. Towi is too old to clear ground for a garden, and so they do not have one. But Nunda can still plant taro, although not quite so vigorously as the younger women. She assists her own daughter, Kokala, and her husband's brother's daughter, Pulong (of her clan), in their gardens, and these two women and their husbands look after the old couple. Should anything happen to Kokala and Pulong, their children would look after Nunda and Towi.

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[1] Why, I was unable to find out.

When Nunda was ill (during my visit) her husband was 159
a model of affectionate concern, and Kokala, Pulong, and
all the other women of her clan looked after her. She
recovered.

Tsangamor was born in the hamlet of Onel. Before her first 159
menses she chewed the sterility leaves which an older 842
woman gave her. She said that after chewing the leaves her
stomach "dried up," and that she therefore could not have
children.

She had no sexual relations before her first menses, and 159
when they occurred there was the usual feast. But she did 836
not marry at this time. Instead she had many lovers in the
bush. She lived with one man from Tabar for some time,
and he gave her four *tsera*. Finally he went back to Tabar.
Her other lovers gave her one *tsera* each time she went to
the bush with them. As she had no husband, she kept all the
tsera for herself, and acquired a basket full of currency. As
far as I can make out, her lack of a husband was due to her
not wishing one.

Then later she deemed it wise to have a husband. Her 159
value as a potential wife had in no way diminished because
of her previous lovers. She now married Landow, with whom
she had no sexual intercourse before the marriage rites.
He made the usual payment of five *tsera*, pigs, and gifts of 583
fish and bananas to her mother and two sisters, and also as
was customary worked in her mother's garden. This marriage
took place about a year or two after her menses. Landow
came from the hamlet of Panat, and after his marriage lived
in his wife's hamlet, Onel.

This marriage lasted for about three years, when Murrow 159
from the village of Langania came along and took her away 581
from Landow. Tsangamor told her husband that she did not
like him any more, and that she did like Murrow. Landow
was not cross, and said, "All right, you go." Murrow now

159 587 paid Landow five *tsera* and gave six *tsera* and a pig to his wife's mother. This marriage lasted until Murrow died, an old man. Tsangamor said that she did not have any lovers after her second marriage. She explained that when she 159 married Landow, she was very young and went to the bush often, but later when she married Murrow she was much older, and, she added, she liked Murrow. At the latter's death Tsangamor was fairly old and did not remarry, nor did she have any lovers. She now lives in Panat with her sister's daughter. She has never had any children, and she attributes her sterility to the leaves she ate when a child.

To-day she is a tall, straight, very fine-looking old woman, with regular features and bright, intelligent eyes. She is still a good worker, and full of energy, fun, and gaiety. She is an active participant at all the women's gatherings, communal cooking, dancing, etc.

Murra was born in the hamlet of Sapone and had the normal childhood, working in her parents' garden, etc. In early childhood she was betrothed to Teramae, and the marriage rites were held after the first menses rites. Teramae paid six *tsera* to her maternal uncle.

159 837 Her husband was the first man with whom she had sexual relations, but after marriage she had many lovers. During the day she went to the bush with them, but sometimes at night it was in her house, while her husband slept in the men's house or was out on an affair of his own. There was no regular periodicity for intercourse, but it was approximately a couple of times a week. She had no intercourse when pregnant, nursing her child, or when menstruating. She has four children, all boys.

159 587 Teramae died in middle age from a sickness connected with his leg, and now Murra married Luasaw. She had no sexual relations with him previously. He had been away working on a plantation, and when he returned after

Teramae's death Murra told him that she would like to have him marry her and look after the children. At first Luasaw did not want to marry her, because she was so much older than he. But all his relatives urged him on, saying that Nunda would give him plenty of pigs, which she did. Then he paid four *tsera* to her brother and they were married. After four or five years Luasaw died, also of an illness in the leg. There were no children by this marriage. 159 581

She did not remarry, and now lives quite happily, to all appearances, with Mamus, her sister's daughter's daughter, who is a classificatory granddaughter. Murra is still able to work in the garden, and is an active member of the community. 159

Molung is a young woman, probably in the late twenties. She was born in the hamlet of Penguli, and had the usual childhood. At her first menses there were the traditional rites, after which came her marriage to Manaumat, who paid five *tsera* to the following clan relatives: her mother, her mother's mother's sister's two sons, her brother, and her sister. Her father as usual received nothing. Her husband came from the hamlet of Sapone, and after the marriage they both lived in her hamlet of Penguli, where he built a house. 159 583

She had no sexual intercourse before marriage, and after it she had many lovers. She remembers six lovers well, and others whom she cannot recall. She has intercourse with her husband a couple of times a week. She did not eat either the sterility or abortive leaves, and has had six children, two of whom died in infancy. One is married, and the other three are still young and living at home. They are all betrothed. Molung seems to be living a quiet, untroubled life. 159 837

In Kawitti's life there was more contact with white culture. She was born in the hamlet of Tarengam, and her father died when she was an infant and her mother when she was 159

159 a very young child. She then went to live with a grown-up
brother and his wife.

At the appearance of her first menses there were the cus-
159 tomary rites, but she did not follow the usual rule of marry-
836 ing directly afterwards. Instead she went to the bush with
a lover, who gave her one *tsera*. Then she had another lover,
with whom she went to the bush three times. Her third lover
was Lumis, with whom she went to the bush four times and
then married. She was pregnant before she married him,
and later her child was born. A few years after this she and
her husband went to Rabaul to work for the white man,
and there Lumis died.

159 Kawitti stayed on at Rabaul, working for the white man,
and during this time she had intercourse with many native
837 men and one white man.[1]

After three or four years she came back to Lesu and had Lungas as her lover. They were married, and he gave the marriage payment to her clan relatives.

159 Kawitti said that she did not eat the sterility or abortive
leaves because she was afraid. She had heard of one woman
who died after eating the sterility leaves. She occasionally
missed her menstrual period for two "moons," but it always
"came up" on the third moon. She has had one child, a
son, now married. She says that in the past she enjoyed
copulating very much, but that now she is old and does not
care for it.

She was still able to work in the garden, and did so, although suffering from a disease giving her leg pains, which diminished her activity at certain times. She was of a rather pleasant and very talkative disposition. She died unexpectedly while I was at Lesu.

Pulong had the traditional childhood, during which her present husband, Ongas, was betrothed to her. He brought 159 a gift of food to her mother and other clan relatives, who then gave their consent to the betrothal. Pulong a little later went to stay with her betrothed's mother. Ongas, of course, slept in the men's house.

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[1] When I asked her if she enjoyed her sexual relationship with the white man, her only answer was that he paid her "plenty."

At her first menses there were the customary rites, followed by the marriage rites and payment. He came to live in her hamlet, where he built a house for them.

After marriage she had many lovers in the bush, so many 159 that she has lost count of them. There were no intrigues 837 lasting any length of time. Her lovers all paid *tsera* to her, which she gave to Ongas. Sometimes he was cross if she had a lover, but at other times he was complacent. The latter state of mind was the more usual for him.

Ongas took a second wife, but later divorced her because 159 he was afraid of the missions. [595]

Pulong and he worked on the mainland of New Guinea (during the German administration). When their working time was up they returned to Lesu, and now say that they will never leave it. Pulong has one daughter now just past puberty. She has had several other children, all of whom died at birth or shortly afterwards.

To-day she and Ongas live an affectionate and what appears to be a quietly happy life.[1] She is busy and gay, fond of gossip, and a leader in communal undertakings. One might speak of her as one of the "first ladies" of the village. This comes partly from her husband's position of Luluai, but also from her own very pleasant personality.

The life history of Taiti, one of my servants who was with me in the beginning of my visit, is an unusually sophisticated one, due to her contact with white people since her early childhood. Her parents worked on a plantation, where she

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[1] The affectionate care given by Ongas during Pulong's illness has already been described.

159 was born. They both died in her early childhood, and she continued living on the plantation, very much the protégée of her "master" and "mistress," owners of the plantation. She slept in their house, and her "mistress" locked the door to Taiti's room every night, so that no men could have access to her. Taiti was carefully guarded according to white standards, and for a time, therefore, had nothing to do with men. Then one man working on the plantation made love magic to get her. He recited a spell over an aromatic leaf, [832] which he then wore, and the wind blew the fragrance of the plant to Taiti, and then she was in love with him. Taiti told her "mistress" that she wanted this man, and so the two were married and continued working on the plantation.

159 This marriage only lasted a short time. There was a 845 divorce and she remarried. She became pregnant now, and near the end of her pregnancy another man wanted to have intercourse with her. She refused because she was pregnant, and he was angry at the refusal. The would-be [754] lover made magic of revenge over a betel-nut which he placed by her door. Unsuspectingly she walked over the nut, and as a result, she says, the child died in her womb. (The child was born dead two days later.)

159 Taiti later became friendly with a half-caste Chinese-Melanesian in Rabaul, who seduced her with love magic. 837 This consisted of putting a leaf over which he had said a [832] spell in a glass of beer which he gave her to drink. It was her first taste of beer, and that night she dreamt she was having intercourse with him, and the next day she desired him. Before he had made advances to her, but she had always rejected him. Now she went to him.

From now on she had many husbands and even more lovers, but she had a special fondness for the Chinese half-caste.

159 She is now middle-aged, and says that she is through with men. But this is obviously just "talk." She is very vain,

although she is not good-looking by any standards, native or otherwise. While she works she usually keeps a small mirror near by, into which she constantly looks. She has a peculiarly elongated face with a projecting chin. One man whom she had angered, rather aptly said that her face is like a horse. She replied that one gets a face from one's father. She had one father, and so has his face. Her tormentor had another father, and therefore another face. But although she gave this reasonable retort, her vanity had been deeply hurt, and she never forgave the man. 159

Her disposition is warm and impulsive, quick to anger and easily appeased. One day a wild bush pig strolled into the village, and at the request of many of the natives my cook-boy shot him. At the report of the gun Taiti burst into tears. Later she was twitted on her tears, and she replied that she was sorry for the pig.

She lies rather frequently, but has a subtle distinction of her own. She refers to one man who lies, and says that he looks you straight in the face while he lies. But, she continues, when she lies her "eyes run away," and so her lies are not so bad. As a matter of fact they are more in the nature of small fibs.

She is ambitious and wants to do things that native women never even think of, and is always making plans about how she will help me in my work, drawing up elaborate schemes of what she will do. But finally she has to leave to join a half-caste husband.

She is a type all her own, and a peculiar product of white contact.

SUMMARY

The brief life histories are of interest in that they show somewhat the variations occurring within the general pattern. It is the rule that marriage rites follow immediately after the 159 183

159 183 rites for the first menses. But individuals do not always follow this rule. Some women delay it for a short time, and personal choice only may be the reason for the delay, or there may be some external circumstances causing it. One woman has one husband for life, and another changes mates several times. And so on.

Since there is variation within the general pattern of life, we might be expected to find a large degree of it within the sexual life, which while it grows out of fundamental biological impulses is overlaid with so many diverse sentiments. Here we find no simple and perfectly logical system. Instead there are contradictions, variations, complexities, and simplicity too. Even the structure is not rigid. We find monogamy, polygamy, and polyandry. There are repressions—half the women are forbidden to the men—and at the same time there is the freedom of extra-marital intercourse. Affectionate fondness in family life is common, and wife-beating also happens in the same family. The sentiment of jealousy is sometimes present and at other times absent. Some unions last a lifetime, and others are quickly broken up. No logical non-variable scheme is found here.

But one may abstract a few generalities which have a more or less universal application. There is first a keen enjoyment in sexual intercourse, which begins almost immediately after puberty, and which is indulged rather freely within the limits of the rule of exogamy. Marriage is to rear children and to maintain a household. If it is not maintained, if either partner neglects his economic duties, divorce occurs. But the family is something more than an economic unit. For divorce also occurs when one mate has tired of the other and prefers or is in love with someone else. There is love, or whatever we call that group of sentiments which surround the biological need for intercourse. A woman in love is lost to the world; she neglects her everyday duties, and thinks and dreams of no one except the beloved. All of which is not so different from the picture of a woman in love in any other part of the world. Beside love and passion, there is also affection, which is seen in the relationship between mates, and which comes out so clearly in times of illness or other crises. Thus in the sexual life of these Melanesians occurs the interplay of instincts, emotions, and sentiments which appear to be universal.

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CHAPTER VIII

KNOWLEDGE, MAGIC, AND RELIGION

184 WHAT the Lesu man and woman do in their daily routine and in their social and ritual life has been described. The question arises: What is the body of knowledge and beliefs on which their actions are based? Much of the knowledge and all of the beliefs are common property, known to all, although there is some knowledge which is of a more esoteric nature. There is but little differentiation on the basis of sex, although of course knowledge of the crafts which are followed by one sex are known only to them. Men are not skilled in the intricacies of preparing taro, nor women in the art of house-building. But in familiarity with myths and folk-tales, in information about natural phenomena, in the comprehension of supernatural beliefs, there appears to be no differentiation between the men and women. However, the men do have a certain kind of esoteric knowledge not shared by the women. The *malanggans* are not supposed to be seen by the women, who, however, know that they exist and the myths concerning them, and participate in the rites. But they do not see the carvings when they are on display. This is a privilege only for the males.[1] The women are quite aware of their significance, although

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[1] At Lesu the women did not look at the *malanggans*, but at Logagon, a village in another linguistic district about twenty-five miles away, and the centre of a mission, this custom had broken down, and the women went into the enclosure and looked at the carvings at the conclusion of the rites. So strong was the feeling, however, at Lesu, that when [534] I purchased a musical instrument called *Loanuat*, connected with a *malanggan* by the same name and taboo for women to see, the latter expressed no desire to see it. It was in a secluded part of my house, and the men went in to see and to play it, but the women, with perfect good taste, stayed on the other side of the house and did not attempt to go near the *Loanuat*, although they heard it being played. [p. 288]

the custodianship, the making, the care of them are in the hands of the men. 184

Of an esoteric nature also are magical spells. These are known only to the magicians, who are both men and women. The men, however, predominate in the art, and while there are women magicians (particularly in love magic), I heard of no women skilled in rain magic or black magic. The latter is the most secret of all magical knowledge, and surrounded with the most mystery.

With the exceptions just noted, knowledge is known to everyone, and it is small enough in content to make this easily possible.

KNOWLEDGE

The knowledge of practical pursuits, such as gardening, 182 fishing, house-building, and hunting, has already been indicated in the description of the working of the economic organization. The long time (ten years) that the ground is left fallow, and the rudeness of the implements, the digging-sticks, for example, and the lack of variety in crops, indicates a not very extensive knowledge of agriculture. In the same way, the fact that houses have to be rebuilt every two years or so shows that house-building is not in the most efficient manner. Fishing is a lengthy process, involving the use of magic, the following of taboos, and also a certain degree of technique. In none of these occupations, so essential to life, are the quickest and most efficient methods used. Yet they are adequate under the circumstances. There is sufficient time and material to rebuild a house every two years. Gardens are productive enough to give the necessary food, and in the same way fishing and hunting bring in satisfactory returns. Food and shelter are attained without too much effort, even though the methods are based on a very incomplete knowledge of natural phenomena.

MEASUREMENT OF TIME

805 The latter information is not extensive, and varies very much in its accuracy. For instance, the measurement of time is never exact, but absolute precision in this is not essential to the Lesu native. He recognizes two seasons, the time of the South-East Trade Winds, or the dry season, *mitok*, and the North-West Monsoon, or rainy season, *tses logum*, but he knows no unit of a year. He does not even keep a record of these seasons, i.e. he never tells you that four rainy seasons ago such and such a thing happened. He simply loses track of the number of seasons elapsing between any two incidents. The count of time is by the moon, *uli*,[1] and this is not over any long period of time. The only moons which have been given a name are those connected with the high tide, when either the *beta* (sea-worm) or the *logum* (crab) appears. For the moons of the low tide there are no names. This is obvious in the following names for the "moons":

1. *Beta:* the moon or month when the sea-worm *beta* appears.
2. *Buntain:* the moon when the *logum* (crab) first begins to appear.
3. *Logum:* the moon when the crab comes.
4. *Mutlelep:* the name for the marks on the stomach of the crab, and represents a time when crabs are plentiful.
5. *Mutapuwäinga:* black stomach (also referring to crab).
6. *Muttsäpendual:* the time for getting crabs, and marks the moon when a man named Dual was killed. He was from Ambwa (which incidentally is considered the best place for getting crabs), and was killed by a man from Medina. According to the story, the Medina man came in a canoe to Ambwa and killed Dual. The other Ambwa men ran away instead of helping him.
7. *Muturdis:* literally, stomach little, and refers to the time when the crabs are small.

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[1] Neither the word for moon, *uli*, nor the one for sun, *mutungbut*, has any sex.

These are the only "moons" which are named, and they are all concerned with the getting of *beta* or *logum*, both good food, and considered as delicacies.

The moon itself is divided into the obvious four sections. The new moon is called *luvil lil*, literally the same as *lil*, the narrow leaf of the *kunei* tree. The quarter-moon is *longain dä nü*, which refers to the small opening made in a coconut, *nü*, when the milk is drunk. The half-moon is *kulitsin kil*, and refers to the *kilkil*, a kind of nut which when opened is shaped like a half-moon. The full moon is called *kepkep*, the name of the round breast ornament. I was told by all my informants that the moon is called after the ornament, and not *vice versa*. If the latter is true, then all four names for divisions of the moon are taken from familiar objects of the environment which are obviously similar in shape.

The cycle of time from sunrise to sunrise is recognized and called *nurdänli*, and is broken up into the following divisions:

Dawn: *Ässitumpani.*
Sunrise: *Ässisila* (come up).
Noon: *Lombutinisiaäst.*
Sunset: *Mutunjut ässisuri* (sun go down).
Day is *siät*, as distinguished from night, *numbing.*

There are no hours, minutes, or any other record of time. If a native wants to specify a certain time of the day, he points to the position in the sky where the sun will be at that time. If he wants to refer to the present, past, or future, he uses the following terms:

To-day: *Talaua.*
Yesterday: *Toranung.*
To-morrow: *Nova.*
Day before yesterday: *Tivilä.*
Day before day before yesterday: *Tivilä min.*
Three days before yesterday: *Tivaven.*
A month (moon) ago: *Kumkumbartsi.*
About six months (moons) ago: *Tsiti sinno ulin tipas kuk.*

805 Long time before: *Tsi tsi sin mulangun.*
Telamuv.
A very long time before: *Kumkumbartsisin uti kup mungel uo.*
Day after to-morrow: *Tilä.*
Three days from to-day: *Tilä min.*
About six months (moons) in the future: *Tsila simbila nouli tapas kuk.*
A long time in the future, about a year: *Tsila simbila mulangun lamur.*
A long time in the future: *In kum kum bar tsi tson eamur.*

NAMES

192 Every tree, plant, vine bush, and bird has its own name, but they are not classified into species. Pigs are named according to their colour and from where they come, and the following is a list of descriptive names for them:

Plantation pig: *Mok.*
Pig from the Bining district: *Bining.*
Bush pig: *Palawulas.*
Village pig: *Manki.*
Black pig: *Mugat.*
White pig: *Putie.*
Spotted pig, white with black spots: *Tokatoka.*
Black pig with white spots: *Umil.*
Pig with white body and black head: *Gangau.*
Brown pig: *Milal.*
Pig with white streak down face: *Maramoe.*
White pig, no other colouring: *Bopbop.*

The male pig is called *lugadumba*, while the female one is known as *paläk*.

THEORIES

821 With the exception that thunder is caused by a dark cloud singing out, and that the same dark clouds are the forerunners of rain, there are no suppositions about the cause of rain or of lightning (except that magic is supposed to cause

rain) and no theoretical interest in them, as far as I could 821
ascertain. A few people are afraid of thunder, because
they think the cloud may fall down on them, but many
others are unafraid. The rainbow is noted, but there is no
explanation for it.

The theory of birth has been given in another context, and 842
it is only necessary to briefly recapitulate here. It is known
that pregnancy follows intercourse, and it is thought that
the embryo is formed from the blood, and the cessation of
the menses is recognized as the beginning of pregnancy.
Death, unless it has some obvious cause, such as falling 761
from a tree or drowning, or unless it happens in old age, 754
is thought to be due to black magic, or more literally
"poisonous" magic.

For digestion there is a native word, *jäsikoramin*, which 827
might be literally translated "food finishes going down." It
is thought that the food remains in the stomach for a day
and then comes out as faeces. Although it is known that
food is necessary for strength, there is no notion of the
interaction of food and blood. Terms "hot" and "cold" are
used to describe the conditions of the stomach, and bananas
and pawpaws are thought to make the stomach cold, while
taro makes it hot.

MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE

Illness may be due to magic or more natural causes, and [753]
medical practice consists mostly of the use of certain leaves
and roots and magic. Magical medical practice is con- 757
sidered under the heading of Magic. Here only the medical
art which has no magic is described. The knowledge of
medical practice is fairly widespread. Many people know
remedies for one or two ills, but there are a few men and
women who are specially skilled in native medicine and
know more than the others. A native "doctor" is paid for [759]
his services, provided his patient gets better.

751 Some of the plants used medicinally in New Ireland
278 grow in India, and are used there also in medical practice,
and their constituents and function have been analysed.[1]
When known, the comparison with India is indicated.
Two principles appear to underlie the use of native medicine.
[752] For external medicine, to cure inflammation and various
swellings and sores, certain leaves are passed over the fire,
and when hot pressed on the inflamed or swollen part. The
principle of a hot covering for inflammation is a perfectly
sound one. Internal medicine consists of chewing certain
leaves supposed to have medicinal value and swallowing
the juice from them. There is no knowledge of surgery nor
[752] of prophylactics nor of disinfectants. Of the seventeen specimens collected (and these are the ones most in use), there are six which might have a possible medicinal value, as they have similar value in India. Of these six, three are for external use to cure inflammation, one is useful in diarrhoea, and two others are used as an abortifacient. The value of the others is extremely doubtful.

[847] Seven specimens were collected which were supposed to have an abortifacient function. One of these seven, *Rubus moluccanus*, has the same function in India. Four of them are used in India, but for different functions. Three are not known in India. Two of them have constituents which might make them useful as emmenagogues; the acanthaceous one contains a bitter alkaloid, and curcuma a volatile oil. But whether the leaves contain sufficient quantities of these to make them efficient is very much a matter of conjecture. It seems rather unlikely that seven plants, all with the function of an emmenagogue, should be growing wild in this one place, and it is probable that if I had gone thirty miles in either direction I might have collected seven completely different specimens with the supposedly same function.

Native medicine seems to be about equal in accuracy to

[1] Nadkarni, K. M., *The Indian Materia Medica*, Bombay, 1927.

much of other native knowledge of natural phenomena, none of which approaches real scientific accuracy.

The following is a list of medical specimens, giving their native name, their botanical species, their use in New Ireland, their use in India, and their constituents and possible action when known:

Didil: Crinum asiaticum L. (Amaryllidaceae). To cure swelling in leg. The leaf is put over the fire and then over the swollen part. In India the leaves are warmed, or mixed with oil, and form an application for inflammation, and the leaves and roots are also used as an emetic.

Twislguruth: Cissus simplex Blanco (Vitaceae). To cure swollen neck. The leaves are rolled up together, passed over the fire, and when hot put on the swollen part.

Päpis: Ficus (sp. not known). Leaf of this tree given to a baby for diarrhoea. Baby chews the leaf, swallows the juice from it, and then spits out the leaf. *Ficus benghalensis* is found in India, and is useful in dysentery and diarrhoea, also tonic and astringent.

(Native name lost) Vitex sp. (Verbenaceae). Used to cure a headache. The leaves are rolled together, held over the fire, and then applied to the forehead and temples. In India there is the same use for headache, and it has also other uses there (to dispel inflammatory swellings of the joints, acute rheumatism of the testes, etc.). The leaves contain a colourless essential oil of the odour of the drug and a resin.

Itis: Rubiaceae. Leaf of the tree used to cure sharp pains in the stomach. Leaves passed over the fire and when hot pressed against the stomach. Not known in India.

Utmet: Callicarpa (Verbenaceae). Used to cure pain in shoulders. Leaves passed over fire and when hot pressed against the shoulder. In India, decoctions of the root given in cases of fever and to remove hepatic obstruction. Used also in skin diseases. Action: Refrigerant, hepatic stimulant, demulcent and emollient.

Banana. Leaf passed over fire and used as compress.

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Kutkut, also *Goragora:* Alpinia sp. (Zingiberaceae). Used for bleeding cuts. Leaves passed over fire and then put on cut. In India, a different use, namely in dyspepsia, fevers, catarrhal affection; paste made with oil and applied locally in skin diseases. Constitutents: camphoride galangin and alpinine.

Kumboomba: Solanum verbascifolium L. (Solanaceae). Used to cure pain in stomach. Leaf chewed and juice swallowed.

Agigitin, also called *Gungarau:* Acanthaceae. Used to produce abortion. Leaves chewed and juice swallowed. Constitutents: bitter alkaloid, an organic acid, fatty matter, chlorophyll, and soft resins. Acts as an astringent and nervous tonic, expectorant, and stimulant. Used in India for these purposes.

Rada: Curcuma (Ginger aromatic). Used as abortive; leaves chewed and juice swallowed. In India, used as aromatic adjunct to other medicines used in skin diseases and impurities of blood. Constitutents: volatile oil, resin, starch, sugar, gum albuminoids, and curcumine (yellow colouring matter).

Wuzawuza: Urena lobata L. (Malvaceae). Used as an abortifacient. Leaves chewed and juice swallowed. In India, root is used as an external application for lumbago and rheumatism.

Wäsinow: Dryopteris sp. (Polypodiaceae). An abortifacient in New Ireland. Not used in India.

Putsila: Rubus moluccanus. Used as an abortifacient. Leaves chewed and juice swallowed. Similar use in India, where the leaves are also considered a powerful emmenagogue and abortifacient. Also used to cure diarrhoea. The bark and leaves are considered astringent and contain tannin ten per cent.

Kuskus: Coleus sp. (Labiatae). Used as abortifacient. Leaves chewed and juice swallowed. In India, mixed with sugar and given to children in colic; used in asthma, chronic cough, gonorrhoea, piles, and dyspepsia, and crushed leaves for headache. Action: antispasmodic, cathartic, antilithic, stimulant, stomanture.

Kilkin: Clerodendron. Used as abortifacient. Leaves chewed, juice swallowed. Not used in India.

Bunglä: Zingiber (ginger). Used to cure swellings of skin; magic 757
said over the leaves, which are then chewed and expectorated 278
over the swollen part of the body. This, it is believed, makes the skin hot and the pain disappears. In India it is used as an aromatic stimulant, carminative, and stomachic; externally, as a local stimulant and rubefacient. We use mustard, which is a bit stronger than ginger, in the same way as a counter-irritant.

A large number of folk-tales and myths, handed down 538
orally from one generation to another, form the literature of these people of Lesu. The tales contain moral precepts, theories of origin, accounts of semi-historical and imaginary happenings, and are counted as knowledge in this community. They are told in their proper context throughout the book.

MAGIC

The Lesu man's knowledge of his natural world may seem 789
very inadequate to us, who have accumulated a more extensive, although still very incomplete, information. Yet limited as the information of these Melanesians may be, the Lesu man is well integrated with his natural world, because he thinks he controls it through magic. For whenever the Lesu man or woman feels uncertain of his own ability to control a situation he uses magic. To control the weather, to ensure a good crop, to make certain of a good catch of fish, to have success in his courtship of a woman, he has recourse to magic.[1]

MAGICIANS

Both men and women are magicians, although the 791
former predominate. In Lesu there are thirteen people

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[1] The pragmatic function of magic was first brought out by Professor Malinowski in his studies of the Trobriand Islanders. See his "Magic, Science, and Religion," in *Science, Religion, and Reality*. Ed. by J. Needham (1921).

791 practising magic of one kind or another, and only two are women. Of these, one knows love magic and the other [628 medical spells. Magical knowledge is inherited, and the rule 614] is that it be handed down in the female line, and thus stays within the clan. But in tracing how each magician received his magic, I found that it came just as often from a father as a maternal uncle or other clan relative. A magician makes a payment to the person teaching him the spells, and thereafter he guards his knowledge carefully, for as has already been shown the knowledge of magic is an economic asset.[1] Only one type of magic is usually known to a magician; for example, the rain magician will not know love magic. The exception is medical magic, which is more widely known, and so a man who is skilled in love spells may also know a few spells connected with medicine.

[554] The thirteen magicians of Lesu form no separate class, and except for the additional prestige and income they receive they cannot be differentiated from other people. They participate fully in the daily routine of work, and a magician mends his house, clears the bush ground, brings in firewood, and looks after the baby, just as does the non-magician. A woman might know magic, but this does not exempt her from the daily toil of scraping taro. Both temperamentally and mentally the magician appears no different from any other native. He has merely inherited certain spells which he performs for himself when he needs them, or when he is paid by someone for his services. He does not seem to be of any particular type of personality. The magicians of Lesu varied widely in temperament. Some were serious and quiet, others were gay; some were exceptionally good craftsmen, and others were only mediocre. But all magicians, and non-magicians too, were equal in the sincerity of their belief in the efficacy of the magic.

789 The power of the magic lies in the muttered spell. The

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[1] See chapter on Work.

rite is of minor significance, and sometimes it does not exist, but always there are the essential spoken words. A combination of words are powerful enough to inspire the Melanesian with confidence in his undertakings and enable him to think that he can control the natural world.

TARO MAGIC

Taro magic is not performed in the ordinary everyday gardening, but only when an unusually large crop is needed for a ritual feast, such as is held at the time of the initiation of young boys. In the first stage of gardening (the clearing of the bush ground and the building of a fence) there is no magic; it begins just before the planting is initiated.

The magician has the *kerapo* leaf twined in his hair and stuck in his armband (*Biuk*). The bridge of his nose is covered with white lime and the rest of his face is smeared with black cinders from the fire. He walks around the garden holding the *tsuri* leaves in his hand and striking the ground and the fence with the leaves. He sings:

[539]

Tsuringo bām bilido
Meāira kārasili
Bām bilido tsuringo.

Leaf of the taro be tall
Anything bad (injurious) go way
Taro have tall leaf.

The idea is that the taro leaf should grow as tall as the long *tsuri* leaf.

After he finishes muttering this spell the magician throws the leaf outside of the garden. It is thought that it would harm the garden if it remained there.[1]

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[1] I am not quite sure about the reason for this. The general idea seems to be that the *tsuri* leaf belongs to the bush and not to the garden. It may be that they are afraid it will take root in the garden and be an extra weed.

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Then the magician takes another *tsuri* leaf and sings:

Tsi tanga lä laman
Lenuriadei tsuri
Taingamo tana lä laman.

We go to the gardens
The clouds sing out (thunder)
All the men go to the gardens.

The leaf is then stuck in the ground, just inside the fence, and in the place that is regarded as the entrance.

Now the magician, holding a stalk of taro, the *bang* leaf, and the *bungla* leaf in his hands, kneels down and mutters:

Bungla tapapuet
talutla papuet
bungla tapapuet
talutla papuet.

Bungla tapapuet
talutla papuet
bungla tapapuet
talutla papuet
(Repeated several times.)

The leaf grows big
Talutla (name of a big fish) grows big.

Freely, it is that the taro will be large just as are the leaf and fish. Then the taro stalk with two leaves, which are supposed to have a beneficial influence over the taro, are stuck in a hole in the ground.

Now the magician takes the leaf, *lil*, resembling a long grass, and mutters:

talin pitipiti
Uma pitipiti.

talin pitipiti
Uma pitipiti.
(Repeated several times.)

Talin[1] grow quickly 789
Garden grow quickly. 539

The magician puts the *talin* leaves in the same hole with the taro stalk, the *bungla* and *bang* leaves. All the above magic is said over one stalk of taro, which the magician plants in the middle of the garden. The remainder of the taro is planted by the women without any magical rites.

Some time later, when the weeds are pulled up, as well as the extra stalks of taro, leaving only the shortest stalk, the magician mutters the final spell:

jagagikip ilima
jagagikip bum bula
jagagikip ilima
jagagikip bum bula.
(Repeated many times.)

I break the *ilima* (name of a weed)
I break the root of the taro.

This concludes the taro magic.

ANALYSIS OF SPELLS

Running through this spell, as in all the other spells, are the wish fulfilment and imitative motifs. First there is the wish that the taro grow tall, just as the *tsuri* leaf does. Then there is the wish for rain. (In a rain spell given in Appendix I the sound of thunder is imitated.) More good wishes and examples for the taro to imitate now follow. The taro is to grow as fat as a very large fish, and to grow quickly like a particular weed which is known to grow very fast; and finally, when the taro is partly grown, the weeds which have come with it are symbolically pulled out, and finally in the same symbolic manner the taro root itself is pulled out for the harvest. The statement of the result 789

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[1] *Talin* is the plural of *lil.*

789 desired and the imitative wish are thought to help bring a successful crop. But a native knows well that he cannot just make magic, and then neglect his garden and expect to have a good crop. He works industriously, clearing the ground, planting, weeding, etc., and the magic is to augment these physical efforts and to control for his benefit those factors of chance which are present in any farming. The result is to give him confidence that his crop will be good. He will now work the better, that he has assurance against the well-known odds of gardening.

Usually a single word is sufficient to indicate a whole idea. Complete sentences are seldom used. Merely the allusion to a certain leaf indicates the desire for the taro stalk to grow as tall as this leaf. The spells are handed down by word of mouth, and whether in this process only the essential words were kept and whether the original spells were more complete I could not determine. [198] The problem is a particularly difficult one, because many of the spells were in an ancient and now obsolete language, and it was therefore impossible to translate many of them.

Spells of love and fishing magic have been given in another context.[1] In the love magic made by a man, the wish that the magic affect the girl and make her desire him is repeated over and over again. When speed is desired, the metaphor of the swiftly moving phalanger is used. In the love magic made by the woman, frequently occurs the wish that the man follow her, and that she will be able to attract him. After the magic is made, neither the man nor the woman neglects anything to make themselves attractive. But the magic has given them the necessary confidence to attain their desires.

Similarly in the shark magic,[2] there is the wish to take away the evil effects of having eaten with a pregnant woman, followed by a wish for the shark to come close to the boat, and the final wish that the shark be caught and killed. The fisherman works hard to catch his fish, but with hard work alone he would not venture to catch such a difficult and dangerous fish as the shark. For this the help of magic is needed. 789

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[1] See chapters on Sexual Life and Work.

[2] See pp. 172–177.

Examples of other magical spells are given in Appendix I. The principle underlying them all is the same. In rain magic the magician audibly wished for and then imitated rain. To make a dog be a good catcher of pigs he is likened to a shark who swims all around the sea, and the wish is then made that the dog will run around the bush in the same way until he catches a pig. If a man wants his domestic pig to grow fat, besides feeding the animal well he makes a spell containing the wish that the pig will grow as large as a certain tree well known for its enormous size. In war magic are expressed the desire for the enemy's spears to be deflected, to have the enemy go mad, and finally that they go down in defeat.

BLACK MAGIC

Black magic, or magic to kill, is of a slightly different nature from the so-called white magic given above. It is extremely difficult to get any information on black magic, because no one will confess to knowing it. It is the most secret of possessions, and a man never gives it up until just before he dies, and then he will teach it to his maternal nephew, his brother, or his son.[1] 754

One kind of black magic, the spell for which I was unable to secure, is made over a leaf, which is then placed so that the man against whom the magic is directed must look at it. After that the magician throws the leaf in the fire, and it is thought that the man will die.

Another way of making black magic is to make the

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[1] For texts and further description of magic see Appendix I.

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RAIN MAGICIAN

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MAKING TARO MAGIC

[facing p. 304]

154 necessary spell over the remains of some food (taro, fish, banana, or betel-nut) which the man whose death is desired has half eaten. The same spell will be effective if made over the faeces of the man whose end is willed. It is for this reason, as well as for the desire for cleanliness, that at the end of a feast the remains of food are always thrown into the sea, and great precaution is taken never to leave faeces where anyone will see it.

154 627 602 If it is known that a man has made black magic, his life is in danger. For the relatives of the dead man will be out for revenge. I was told, for instance, about a man named Kolulu who was thought to have caused the death of a man through black magic. The dead man's clan relatives later fought and killed Kolulu. This happened a few years before my arrival.

154 One method of detecting who has made black magic is to employ the services of another magician. Some of the hair of the person who has presumably been killed by black magic is given to a magician, who makes a spell over the hair, calling upon the ghosts (*tinuato*) of his dead clan relatives to help him.[1] They are supposed to find the man who made the black magic, and then to cause worms to enter his stomach and come out in his faeces. This will be found out, and everyone will then know who has made the black magic. During my visit this method was used once to my knowledge. Ongas' maternal nephew, a young child named after him, had died. Ongas was convinced that the death was due to black magic. He therefore went to see Ulak, a man living about sixty miles south of Lesu,

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[775] [1] In a few other spells (mainly fishing magic) there are also invocations to the ghosts of the dead clan relatives to assist the magician. Exactly how the ghosts are to assist I was unable to find out, and the natives seem to have no theory about it. They call upon the ghosts to help them, but exactly the way the ghosts are to do this is no more clear to the Melanesian than the exact way in which the Lord is supposed to bring about the answer to an earnest Christian's prayer is plain to the latter.

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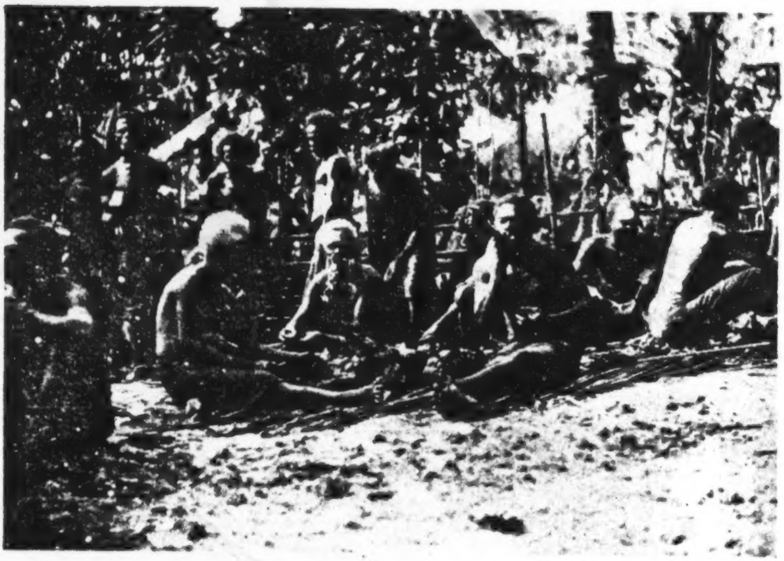
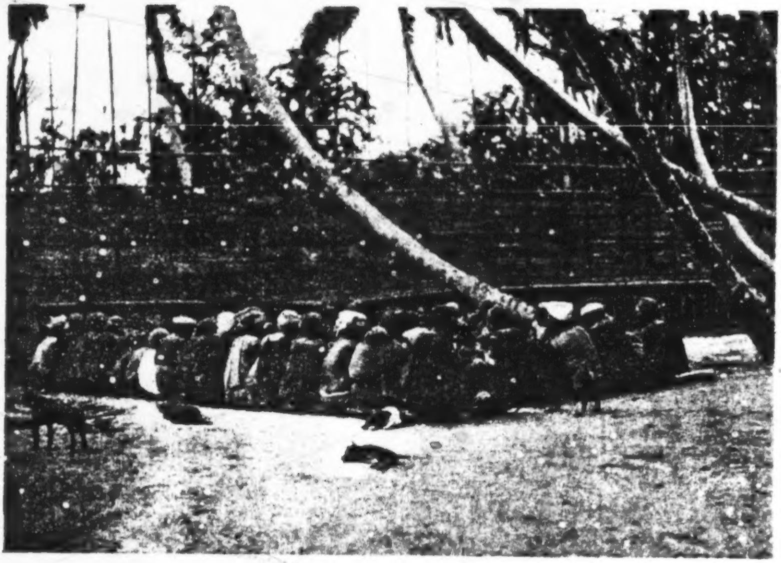


"TABLE" MANNERS AT A MEN'S FEAST



A SPECIAL WOMEN'S FEAST

[facing p. 305]

754 and who has the reputation for being able to detect black magicians. Ongas gave him some of the dead infant's hair and a preliminary payment of two *tsera.* All this happened about two years before my visit, but nothing had happened. So now Ongas took the long trip to see Ulak again and demand the return of the two *tsera.* Ulak returned the currency, and said that the child had not died of black magic, but of a "sickness from the mission," the native way of describing the white man's diseases. Ulak thus found an excuse when his own magic failed.

There is magic to counteract black magic, and the following spell is an example of this. A woman was thought to be ill because someone had made black magic against her. A magician sat near her and, rolling some powdered white lime between his palms, muttered:

ulas ulas periluma
ulas periluma
Lungei.

(Repeated many times.)

Lest, *lest* go into the nose (of sick woman)
Lest go into nose
Get up (freely, soon she will be better and get up).

Ulas is the name used for *lest* (powdered lime) in this spell.

789 It is easy to see that magic, white or black, is no vague or haphazard phenomenon, but is instead a very concrete way of attempting to control those situations in which chance plays a large part. Weather, fishing, love, crops, sickness, war, etc., are all uncertain, and cannot be completely controlled by man. The Melanesian in Lesu realizes this, and if he did nothing about it the consequent lack of confidence would be a serious handicap to his success in any of these undertakings. Also, a lack of confidence is a most unpleasant sensation. But magic, which is in its essence a spoken wish for success, saves the day. A devout Christian

789 meets the same situation with prayer, which is not dissimilar in form, in that it too contains a wish for success. Magic might be considered as both realistic and non-realistic at the same time, the latter because it provides a screen between the native and his real world, and the former because it successfully meets a situation where confidence is lacking.

RELIGION

771 Any distinction between religion and magic must be more or less arbitrary. Malinowski's definition which gives "magic as a practical art consisting of acts which are only means to a definite end expected to follow later on; religion as a body of self-contained acts being themselves the fulfilment of their purpose,"[1] is a very useful one for the classification of behaviour, and is obviously intended for such, as it defines both phenomena in terms of "acts." But from a more strictly psychological point of view there seems to be little differentiation between religion and magic. The individual lives in a world which he cannot completely understand and control, and it is to this perplexing phenomena that he must make an adjustment, the form of which is determined by his particular culture. Magic and religion both give him the necessary security against the uncertainties of human existence. Religion is both a set of beliefs and a series of acts; but in a primitive society, such as the one in Lesu, it is not embodied in any one institution (such as a church), but is instead diffused throughout all of life, and is an attitude as well as behaviour. Religion seeks an identification of the individual with his world, which in turn brings him security. This identification is not contained in any one act or ritual alone, but pervades the whole of life. The fundamental division of the society into the

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[1] Malinowski, B., Essay, "Magic, Science, and Religion," in *Science, Religion, and Reality*. Ed. by J. Needham (1926), p. 81.

two groups, the Eagle and the Hawk, is an identification with two symbols of the natural world, the ever-present sea and the bush. In the clan organization a smaller group of people are identified with a piece of land, a very concrete symbol of the material world. The *gas*, or spirit double of each individual, dwelling on the clan land might be considered a projection of the individual's ego into the super-ego. 771

So close is the identification of the individual native with his natural world through his totemic moiety, his clan, his *gas*, that these supernatural beliefs form a part of his everyday life, and are considered by him in no way different from any of his other knowledge. There is no more rationalization in the one than in the other, and neither is one more esoteric than the other.

This unconscious identification with the world is not the whole of religion. There are outlets for the emotions and for more or less mystical experiences. The dance is one of these outlets. One has only to look at the seriousness, the exaltation, and the complete inner absorption on the dancers' faces to know that here is a religious experience. More concretely, the native's serious attitude to the dance, his months of earnest preparations for it, indicate that it is no idle or merely amusing pastime. And the dance is held at all crises in the life of the individual, involving awe or fear. These occasions are birth, initiation of boys, first menses of the girls, marriage, and death. At all these rites *de passage* the individual also identifies himself with a group by coming together with its members at a feast.

THEORIES OF AFTER LIFE

The native's beliefs about after life and his identification with it are not so clear. A ghost is supposed to emerge from the mouth of the dying individual, to continue living in some 775

775 vague unknown manner after the individual dies. In this way the Melanesian meets the eternal problem centred around the fear of oblivion at death. The same Melanesian constructs no theory of rewards and punishments in after life. For these he quite consciously finds in this life in the acquirement or non-acquirement of prestige. However, the magical spells give some evidence that there may have been in the past a more coherent theory of after life which has since been lost. At least this is one of many possibilities. In the war and fishing magic particularly there are invocations to the ghosts of dead clan relatives to assist in fishing and in weakening the enemy. As if to reward or pay back the same ghosts after a fishing expedition, some taro and fish are left in the *liga* for them. The smallness of the quantity left makes the act an obviously symbolic one. From the magic it would therefore seem that the Lesu man believes that the ghosts of his clan members live on indefinitely, and are able and willing to assist him if properly invoked. Whether this is a remnant of an ancient ancestor cult cannot be determined from the present evidence. Mortuary rites, which would be expected to throw some light on this problem, give no help. For, to-day at least, the mortuary rites have no effect on the dead man, his ghost, his double, *gas*, or anything connected with him. They are held to gain prestige for the living survivors who make them.

MORTUARY RITES

764 These mortuary rites are no more religious than the rites on the occasions of birth, circumcision, first menses, marriage, and death. They have certain essentials, the dance and the feast, in common, and the same mental attitude underlies them all. They are, therefore, all religious in an equal degree, but since all except the mortuary rites have been described in another context only the latter are given here.

The death of Maling, an old woman, was not unexpected. 764 She had been ill for a long time, and her daughter, Tubung, had been affectionately taking care of her. Her husband was already dead, and so was her son. Her sister's daughter's son, Soles, and her mother's brother's daughter's husband, Malalis, are the leading men of her clan. Because her death was expected any moment, Soles went to Ambwa, known for its good fishing, to make arrangements for securing a large catch of fish for the expected mortuary rites. The next day, in the middle of the afternoon Maling died, and immediately the wails were heard. Her daughter, Tubung, Soles, and Malalis led in the wailing, but soon they were joined by everyone in the hamlet and immediate community. The news of the death spread rapidly, and members of Maling's clan, many of them with their families, began arriving on the scene; the wails swelled in volume. In the [767 meantime Maling's body was carried by Hawk women to the sea and washed. Maling was a member of the Eagle 616] moiety, and the washing is always done by a member of the opposite moiety and the same sex. After the washing the same women put the corpse into a coffin, made of an old canoe with the pointed ends removed and a flat board put in their place, which was then placed in a room of the daughter's house. This house has two rooms, and the outer wall of the one in which the corpse was placed was removed, thus leaving it exposed to the compound. The women went to Tubung's garden and got taro, which they then piled on each side and in front of the coffin. Leaves were also stuck in with the taro. In front of the coffin was the bamboo *bäk*, a structure in which the corpse is supposed to rest, but which is not functioning. The relatives and other members of the community came and wailed over the coffin, but Tubung and Soles wailed the most continuously.

At nightfall the women of the village danced, while some 764 of them beat out the rhythm on drums. The men looked 535

764 on. This was kept up all night. In the morning the women
535 went again to the gardens and brought in more taro, while
women from other villages arrived, also carrying taro,
which they hung on bamboo poles fastened between trees.
In the afternoon the women were busy scraping the taro
and preparing it to be baked in the *liga*, while the men
singed pigs, wrapped the fish in leaves, and did their share
in the preparations for the feast which would take place tomorrow.
The wailing continued at the same time. In charge
of these preparations were Soles and Malalis.

That night the men danced. About fifty of them, decorated
with leaves and carrying spears which are longer than they
are, circled around the fire. To the music of the drums, they
continued their dancing during the night. When one group
stopped, another began. The dances were mostly of the
abstract and rather intricate, circle, square, and line formation.
[302] One group had their bodies painted with white
powdered lime, leaves stuck behind as if they were tails,
and as they danced rhythmically shook the shell rattles they
carried in their hands. Hour after hour they went on. The
men and women in the "audience" sat separately and
watched them. When the dancers appeared to lag, Tubung,
the daughter of the dead woman, stood up, and holding a
torch cried out that on the morrow they would receive
764 tobacco. At daybreak they stopped. There was a little rest
before the dead woman was carried into the cemetery. About
the middle of the morning a group of twenty women of
the Hawk moiety, their hair decorated with leaves, entered
the compound singing. Tubung was wailing over the body
of her dead mother. The group of women advanced in
[482] block formation to the coffin, and lifting it to their shoulders
carried it into the cemetery. Tubung walked behind wailing.
They deposited the coffin by the open grave which had previously
been dug. The women immediately left the cemetery
and stood weeping near the entrance. The men entered,

and the body was rather quickly buried, without any special 764 ceremony. Now the men sat around outside in front of the men's house and engaged in desultory conversation. Baked pigs and bundles of taro in the meantime were being carried into the cemetery. Here at one end and by the coffin was the *Warawara malanggan*, made yesterday. In the centre was the large breast ornament, *kepkep*, and around it was an intricate weaving of different-coloured leaves. The two baked pigs wrapped in leaves were placed in front of the *malanggan*, and twelve bundles of baked taro in front of them. On one side is the *kolamuth*, which is beaten as the men file into the cemetery. Malalis now opens the bundles of food and directs their distribution. Ongas and Sola, both sons of the dead woman's sister's daughter, cut the pigs. Fifteen men acting as "waiters" advance together, lift up the baked taro, and put it one at a time on the leaf plates, making the action completely uniform. When they finish they return and in a similar way distribute more taro. In the same manner they divided the two pigs which have been cut up. Each portion of food, divided between two or three people, consisted of about fifteen halves of taro and a rather large piece of pig, perhaps three or four pounds. No one ate until the distribution had been finished. Then they began, but Malalis and Soles and Ongas and one or two other clan relatives refrained from eating. When they finished, the men carried the remains of their food in baskets, made from the coconut leaf, out into the compound where the women were sitting. Here also were thirteen more pigs, singed but not baked, and uncooked taro. Malalis, assisted by Soles, Ongas, and others, distributed this taro to the women, of whom there were about eighty present. Then came the payments for pigs 764 and services. Tubung, Malalis, Soles, Ongas, and the other 431 clan relatives sat down and counted the *tsera*, which they took from several baskets. Soles stood up, and holding up

764 each piece separately, said to whom and for what it was being paid. All the *tsera* was contributed by Maling's clan
431 relatives, about twelve of them, the largest amount coming from Soles and Malalis. First, the people from whom the pigs have been bought were paid, then the pall-bearers, and then the dancers. Tobacco and food formed the payment to the two latter groups. Then there were gifts of portions of pigs by the owners, Maling's clan relatives, who have purchased them for the occasion, and which form part of a long chain of economic transactions, consisting of exchange gifts, already described in the section under economic structure. Finally all the gifts were made, the rites were over, and everyone returned wearily to their homes.

765 For several weeks now all the women of the hamlet (this included the members of the extended family) slept in Tubung's house and the men at the men's house. There
[834] was an abstention from sexual intercourse at this time. During the day the ordinary family life was interrupted. The men spent most of their time sitting in the cemetery, and talked about any matter that happened to be of immediate interest. The women were together, busy much of the time with communal preparations of the meals, which the men ate in the cemetery and the women in the compound.
[262] During this time Tubung, the daughter of the dead woman, refrained from eating taro. This taboo is kept by parents and children, brothers and sisters, and husband or wife, should they be alive. During this same period dance rehearsals, which happened to have been begun before the death, were discontinued by everyone in the village. The end of the period was marked by a feast given by Soles, who hit a baked pig on the back.

764 The mortuary rites for Maling are typical. In illness it is usually a daughter or parent who takes care of the sick person. At Maling's death the behaviour of a husband

could not be observed, because he was already dead. But 764
when alive the husband or wife plays the part of a chief
mourner, and is the loudest and most constant of all in his
wailing. But the mate never takes any responsibility for the
rites. A clan relative—a son (if the dead person is a woman),
a maternal uncle, a sister's son, etc.—is the one who acts
as the executive, and who, with the assistance of the other
members of his clan, finances the rites. But the mate obeys
the food and sex taboos along with the clan relatives. It is
only in the accepting of responsibility that he is relegated to
the background.

The rites for Maling were more elaborate than they are 764
for a younger person. For the number of people, the size of 554
the feast, and in general the elaborateness of the rites, are 888
correlated to the prestige of the dead person. And in Lesu
it is only an old person who can attain prestige. No matter how strong a personality, how much intelligence, skill, or wealth a man may have, he cannot attain the heights of prestige or become a real leader until he reaches old age. The mortuary rites are graduated nicely to fit the degree of prestige. For instance, if an infant is born dead, there are no rites at all, and the body is buried immediately without feast or wailing. A young child's funeral takes place on the day of death, and is attended only by people of the neighbouring hamlets. The funeral of a middle-aged person is held the day after death, and is attended by all the village and by his clan relatives from other villages. It is only when a very old person dies that the rites become an inter-village affair, and that relatives come from far-distant settlements. Then it is that the body is held for several days, while elaborate dances are performed and a large quantity of food is collected. Thus the social position of the dead person is shown at his death, and the rites become a kind of climax,
big or small as the case may be, for his life. 764

The rites also contribute to the prestige of the living. 554

764 Should they not be held in appropriate fashion, those
554 responsible will be the objects of gossip, and will fall in the
esteem of their neighbours and friends, than which nothing
worse can be imagined for the Lesu man or woman.

Another function of the mortuary ritual is that it
764 provides an outlet for the emotions of the survivors. The
152 chief mourners, the immediate family, and the mate wail
long and loudly, and their wailing is brought to a ritualistic climax by the more perfunctory wails of the rest of the community. Dancing is another outlet also participated in by the whole community. Also, if besides grief over the loss of a dear relative the survivors feel sorrow due to the economic loss of one member of their clan or community, they express it quite openly. If an industrious and hard-working member of the community dies before he reaches old age, the economic loss is commented upon quite openly. One man was in a positive grouch over the death of a young man who was his maternal nephew. This meant one less person in the clan, already very small, to assist in the clan rites. When Kawitti, a middle-aged woman and industrious worker, died, all the women of the community openly lamented the loss of a worker for their communal food preparations.

Besides wailing, sorrow is also expressed in a negative manner. The immediate family refrains from the eating of the most common of foods, taro, for a certain period; and in the same way the more extended family (the immediate family and their mates) do not have sexual intercourse during this period of mourning. Similarly, the whole village refrains from having dance rehearsals. The rites thus differentiate the mourners according to their kinship to the dead person, and provide positive and negative outlets for their grief.[1]

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[1] The mortuary rites have already been described in slightly more detail in the author's article. "Mortuary Rites in New Ireland," *Oceania*, September 1931.

But the mortuary rites are not over even after the survivors are released from the various food and sex taboos. 769
The making of the *malanggan*, perhaps years later, is still 778
part of the rites. These ritual carvings have already been mentioned in the descriptions of the initiation rites, of the economic structure, and of the mortuary rites. It remains to present as a whole the essential information about them.

MALANGGANS

Malanggans are made for the dead—men, women, and children—by the surviving members of their clan. Sometimes, as at Maling's funeral, the *malanggan* is made at the time of death, but this is unusual, and happens only for an old and important person. More often it is made a year or more later, when the necessary wealth has been collected and other preparations have been made, and frequently it will be made for several clan relatives at once. Sometimes the circumcision of the young boys is the occasion for making one. Another time the village will decide to have *malanggan* rites, although there is no overt excuse, and everyone in the village who wishes to make one will do so at the same time. The rites for the combined *malanggans* last for three or four days, with the appropriate dances and feasts. I saw one such set of rites at the village of Lovapaul. After the rites the *malanggans* are usually destroyed.

There are many different kinds of *malanggans*, each one with its particular name, form, and attendant rites. First the *malanggans* are divided into a number of large groups, such as the *Sasabwan*, *Kolebmur*, *Ahsisinga*, *Walik*, *Longabun*, *Amuraskambo*, *Warawara*,[1] and all those in each one of these groups are considered of the same type, and have similar rites. The names of some of the individual *malanggans* within these large groups are:

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[1] This is only a partial list of the *malanggan* groups.

Sasabwan

769 *Aruppekleia:* Fish.
Eiaiderauf: Fish.
778 *Anuf:* Fish.
Solennau: Figure of man.
Lysisi: Figure of man.
Mundäleno: Figure of man.
Leirau: Figure of woman.
Däwgandau: Figure of woman.
Kortämuth: Figure of woman.
Aluderi: Figure of man.
Anbowugul: Figure of man.
Winabo: Figure of woman.
Kummermeia.
Araraum.
Logarawai.

Kolebmur

Araraun: This also appears in class above.
Lekiu.
Kuwawuwu.
Balanei.
Kuleipanga.
Ambeli.
Ammaris.
Amarindan.
Avutimisi.
Agasmuggawuh.

Ahsisinga

Awainu: Small eagle.
Kambärwurua.
Aganlä.
Kaupus.
Ranginä.
Leiamä.
Sinbanimous.
Ahmersilau.
Kambarizo.
Amutnät.

Amuraskambo

Lahwinamuhdä.
Belazäm.
Milimindäs.
Abiläk.
Lawaiangas.
Anbutsio.
Amundacssuraumbo.
Amatangilagila.
Amanäto.

Warawara

Karawas.
Azela.
Auwafan.
Abauurang.
Avara.
Aflinkabik.
Ahmitnas.
Wawarapesinganau.
Sesoli.
Luhkundo.
Sauwood.
Sulangit.
Gawit.

The *malanggans* vary in appearance; some are the figure of 769
one man, while others are intricate carvings containing the
figures of several people, each one representing a dead 778
clan relative. Still others have various birds, fish, and 532
snakes on them. The animals used seem to be merely familiar ones of the environment, and without any totemic significance. Another kind, such as the *Warawara*, is finely decorative, with the *kepkep* (breast ornament) in the centre. Each *malanggan* will also be known as a male or female one. They are usually brightly painted, red and yellow being the dominant colours. A photograph facing page 120 shows one of them.

The right to make each *malanggan* is owned by an indi- 769
vidual, usually an important old man of a clan. The other 778
members of his clan are considered as part-owners with 424
him, and would be reimbursed at a sale of one. The old man is more a custodian. He may sell this privilege to another person, and the individual making the sale loses the right to make this particular *malanggan*, and he must therefore later buy the right to make another one. The description of one such sale has already been described.[1] It was a big economic transaction, and one of the main ways in which large amounts of currency pass from one group to another.

The *malanggan* is made by a skilled carver, who is paid for 769
his services. The clan owner sits beside him and shows him 778
the design. The work is always done in a small house erected 532
for the purpose, and only the male clan owners of the 343
malanggan besides the carver are allowed to enter it. The house is destroyed after the work is finished.

Myths about the origin of different *malanggans* give the 769
source as a dream. For instance, in the myth of the origin 778
of the *Walik malanggan*, a man named Lunguma, who lived
in Tabar, fell asleep while he was working in his garden. 773
While asleep his *gas* appeared in a dream and showed him

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[1] See pp. 210–224.

769 how to make the *Walik malanggan* and all the dances and
other aspects of the rites connected with it. Just before he
778 died Lunguma passed on this information to a clan relative,
773 and so it has come down to the present time. This is a rather typical dream origin for most of the *malanggans*, except that for a few of them a woman has the dream. In that case she passes on the knowledge immediately to her son. The setting in most of these myths is in Tabar.[1]

Accompanying each *malanggan* are special rites, including
769 dances, feasts, and other ritual, which have been described
778 in their particular context. Many of the dances are inter-
554 changeable for different *malanggans*, but certain aspects of the rites, as, for example, the women walking to neighbouring villages and collecting food on the way in the concluding rites for the *Walik malanggan* (displayed at the initiation rites), and the particular way in which the women group themselves for their feast at the *Sasabwan malanggan* rites (at Logagon), are peculiar to these particular *malanggans*. But regardless of the differences in appearance and in details of rites, they all have the same general function. While they are made in honour of the dead, their making bestows prestige on the living. Should a Lesu man not make a *malanggan* for a dead mother or maternal uncle, he would fall very low in prestige, but there would be no effect on the dead person or his ghost. For, to the Melanesian native, the *malanggan* represents wealth, and not to have this for the proper ritual uses is indeed a serious matter. The identification of the carvings with wealth came out in many ways: if a man did not make a *malanggan*, it was scornfully said by everyone in the community that he did not have any wealth; in the speeches at the *malanggan* rites, stressing the wealth which had gone into their making; in an incident

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[1] It seems likely that the *malanggans* came originally from the Tabar group of islands, and an investigation there might disclose more facts about their real nature,

which occurred shortly before my departure, when some 769
old men were watching my servants pack a few *malanggans* 778
I was taking back with me. I had explained that they would 554
be carefully housed (in a museum), and that "my people," who had never seen these *malanggans*, would then know about them. After my explanation the old men very seriously urged me to tell these people who would look at the *malanggans* that they were not just carved, painted pieces of wood, but that I must make the people understand all the work and wealth that had gone into the making of them—the large taro crops, the many pigs, all the *tsera*, the cooking for the feast, and other essentials of the rites. These, said the old men of Lesu, are the important things to remember about *malanggans*.

SUMMARY

The Lesu man has certain fundamental and universal 182
problems to meet, and his knowledge, magic, and religion indicate how he meets them. The knowledge concerning natural phenomena and crafts, the dependence on magic to fill in the gaps of knowledge, the myths to account for origins, the beliefs in the supernatural to give him security, indicate that his mental processes are very similar to our own. Our knowledge is more complete, but that is just a matter of degree. We have recourse to prayer, psychologically kin to magic, when we need confidence. We too have our origin myths, embedded in such institutions as the Church. Likewise we have our religious beliefs, which fulfil the same function for us as they do for the Lesu natives. It would seem then that the dynamics of thinking is the same for these Melanesians as it is for us, and that the difference is only in the content.

CHAPTER IX

THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

FAMILY *VERSUS* CLAN SENTIMENTS

183 IN our observation of the behaviour of the Lesu people we
593 have noted social patterns and at the same time variations
from them. But a distinction must first be made within
614 the social patterns themselves. Some are highly ritualized and others are non-ritual. Most of the ritualized behaviour is concerned with the clan and the moiety. It is the clan and moiety members which function as a unit at marriage, death, and other important rites. While family life follows along more or less customary procedure, there is very little ritual connected with it. Family sentiments are apparently so strong and fundamental that they do not need ritual to reinforce them or to make them into behaviour patterns. On the other hand, ritual seems to be necessary to keep clan sentiments active. The family non-ritualized sentiments sometimes even override the clan's highly standardized rules, as when a father frequently teaches his magical spells to his son rather than to his maternal nephew. Or the family sentiments may sometimes function more actively than the clan standardized ones. When Pulong was ill, her husband was much more concerned and worried than her brother, although, if she had died, the latter would have had charge of the mortuary rites. The sentiments which develop in the family seem to be stronger and perhaps more fundamental than those which surround the clan. For the family sentiments exist unaided by ritual, while the clan ones apparently must have the ritual.

[p. 320]

FORMATION AND FUNCTIONING OF SOCIAL PATTERNS

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It is fairly easy to pick out the social patterns and see how they have been formed. All the units of the social organization—the family, clan, moiety, village, hamlet—are agents in the socialization of the individual, and these same units foster the social patterns of behaviour and the social sentiments which underlie them. For instance, the principle or sentiment of reciprocity functions through the ritual exchange of gifts between members of different clans, moieties, and villages. Within the family, too, the same principle of reciprocity functions in the exchange of services between mates, as it does also in the exchange of currency for sexual favours in extra-marital relationships. The clan regulates maternal descent and inheritance and matrilocal residence, which set certain patterns of behaviour. The clan also provides the structure for much of the political and economic organization, in that it is the important old men of each clan who are the leaders of the community. Again, it is the members of a clan who share in joint economic responsibilities. The maternal uncle takes the responsibility for providing feasts for his sister's children during their infancy. It is the clan relatives of a groom who assist him in collecting the marriage payment, and it is the bride's clan relatives who receive the payment. In a similar way, it is the clan relatives of a dead person who take the responsibility of providing the proper mortuary rites. The family, too, functions as an economic unit on a smaller scale. It is also the family, clan, and moiety which give form to the kinship system, for a native receives his place in the kinship system through his position in these groups. So one could continue almost indefinitely to show how institutions by their particular form provide the mould for social patterns of behaviour.

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BASIC PRINCIPLES

182 183 Underlying these social behaviour patterns of Lesu appear to be certain fundamental principles, the most outstanding of which is the one of reciprocity. From the most elaborate economic transactions to the settlement of petty quarrels reciprocity is the dominant motif. Thus when Kaptan quarrelled with his wife's brother and received a blow on the chin from him, it was suggested that if Kaptan be allowed to give his brother-in-law a similar blow the quarrel would be ended. Ordinary quarrels are ended by an exchange of equal amounts of *tsera*. The reciprocal gift exchange has already been commented on in detail. Trading, in which no profit occurs, is also reciprocal in its action, in that, for example, a person is obligated to buy a pig from a man who had previously purchased one from him. All services, from house-building to sexual favours, must be paid for. For everything there must be a recompense.[1] This system of reciprocity makes for a nice balance in the workings of the society, and it might be correlated with the duality of structure, the moiety system. Or both these, the duality of structure and the principle of reciprocity, might be the expressions of a still more fundamental social law, which in turn may be linked with the biological divisions of the members of society into two sexes. Here in Lesu the two sexes complement each other socially as well as biologically, and competition between them does not exist. The division of labour and responsibilities between men and women makes for the same balance in their relationship that we find in trade when equal objects are exchanged.

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[1] Professor Thurnwald in this connection says: "The idea of requital, like that of remuneration, appears to be one of the original reactions of mankind. When applied to a wrong inflicted, the result is the blood feud, and when applied to gifts the reaction takes the form of exchange or the development of trade" (Thurnwald, Richard, *Economics in Primitive Societies*, Oxford Press. In press.)

182 183 There appears to be some kind of spontaneous and complementary duality which is expressed in various ways, through the moieties, in economic transactions, in the reciprocity underlying all social relations, and in the complementary nature, of relations (both social and sexual) between men and women. That this duality functions so freely in Lesu may be one reason for the relatively complete integration of society there.

554 181 As a mainspring of action the desire for prestige is most important. Without prestige a man (or a woman) in Lesu is like an uninhabited house. To have prestige among his fellows, a man makes the elaborate *malanggan* rites, and for the same reason he gives elaborate feasts on all the other ritual occasions. It is the desire for prestige that makes him obey the many social taboos and rules. To be gossiped about in a derogatory manner, to have it said that one has no wealth, that one has infringed even a minor aspect of the social code, is to bring disgrace. This aversion to even what appears as trifling but degrading gossip is well illustrated in the following incident. There is much talk in the village because Tsengali's pig has broken into Murri's garden and eaten much taro. Murri displays no particular anger, and appears undisturbed, but Tsengali is very much annoyed because of all the talk that the incident has occasioned. So he announces that he is going to Kabil, where his brother lives, to get a pig and give it to Murri to stop the talk. But Murri tells him that this would be foolish, "to eat a pig for nothing," and that Tsengali should not give him the pig. Instead Murri declares that the incident is ended, and that there should be no more talk. The affair is ended. It is interesting to note that in this incident it was the transgressor who was annoyed because of the blow to his prestige and not the offended man who had suffered a loss of taro.

577 At the same time, these men who are so eager for prestige disparage themselves and belittle their contribu-

577 tions in the public speeches made at feasts and rites. Boasting is considered very bad taste in Lesu.

181 Certain general characteristics of the society help also to set the social patterns of behaviour. For instance, the society is conservative and stable. The old people are in control, and change takes place very slowly. Also, these men and women of Lesu know security in several ways. First, as it has already been pointed out, they are economically secure and have no fear of poverty or old age. Secondly, they have faith. They believe in their magic, in their spirit doubles, in the value of their rites. Heretics are absent. This very real belief gives the Melanesian the kind of security that a truly devout and unquestioning Christian has. Even [177] the newly missionized native, as far as I could observe, is not a heretic. His Christian beliefs form a superficial and upper layer laid over his own beliefs, which are not denied. The two systems simply exist on different levels, and neither meet nor conflict.[1] Finally, the society is realistic. The education of children is to really train them for adult life. There is thus a facing of situations as they exist and an adequate preparation for them. Side by side with the realism is the highly symbolic nature of this society. In the constantly used magic a leaf, a stone, a sound, a combination of words are used as symbols for certain desired ends. Before such an undertaking as getting the sea-worm (*beta*) a game is played resembling a tug-of-war, which symbolizes the drawing in of the *beta* from the sea. Some of the dances are both dramatic and symbolic performances.

Apart from the social patterns, we have also noted individual patterns. Sometimes we have seen the individual behaving quite differently from the social pattern. This may

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[1] This applies only to natives who have accepted Christianity after they were mature. The psychological effect on the very young children who are now being sent to mission schools may be very different.

be due to the fact that he follows a family sentiment rather 181
than a clan rule, or in other cases because he follows some whim of his own personality which does not fit in with any of the social patterns. It has been of interest to note the degree of individuality allowed in such a relatively standardized society as we find in New Ireland.

INDIVIDUAL VARIATIONS

The question arises as to how far all the individuals partici- 183
pate in the institutional and social modes of behaviour. I observed how rigid is the rule of sexual division of labour, how a Melanesian girl does not make a decision on what career she will follow, but carries on the traditional feminine role of her society—marriage, gardening, cooking; how custom and tradition play such a large role in determining the native's behaviour and beliefs that, for instance, when the native lacks full confidence in his undertaking, he uses magic; how it is customary for the native to build a certain type of house; how the desire for prestige is the dominating motive in much of native conduct. At the same time, as my study became more intimate and detailed, I became increasingly aware that all the individuals were not carrying out these social patterns to the same degree. I also learned that the natives themselves were fully cognizant of this fact, and took these individual variations quite for granted. For example, one of my best and most trustworthy native informants gave me as a rule that magical knowledge is handed down in the maternal line. When I later pointed out to him that half of the magicians in the village had received their magical spell from their fathers, my native friend shrugged his shoulders a bit impatiently and said (freely translated): "But I thought you knew that there are exceptions to the rules!" He had taken it for granted that

183 I understood this, and was rather surprised when I somewhat naïvely indicated the exceptions.

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591 In order to bring out the differences between the social and individual patterns of behaviour, it is necessary to take concrete instances of the former and describe the individual variations from each one. There is, for instance, the general rule of behaviour that a man upon marriage should come to live in the hamlet and village of his wife. And many men follow this pattern, but there are others—a minority—who for personal reasons do not. There are examples of men who settle in their wife's hamlet and later move away for personal reasons. Kaptan, who came originally from a bush village and settled in his wife's hamlet, Onel, grew very irritated at the way his wife's relatives constantly interfered with his affairs, and so left Onel and built a house for himself and wife at Penguli, where a very good friend of his lived.

Another man went to live in his wife's village about thirty-five miles away from his own, and then divorced her because he was tired of walking back and forth to his own village, where he went for rites, funerals, and other important occasions. After his divorce he married a woman from his own village.

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611 The rule of maternal descent, that a child belongs to the clan and moiety of his mother, is rigid, and as far as I know never broken. But a corollary of the same rule, namely, that property, material and immaterial, stay within the clan, is frequently not kept. Sola, who is famed as a fishing magician, learned his magic from his father; and Bullagot, the old rain magician, says that he will teach his magic before he dies to his son. As far as I could gather, it is merely personal preference in these cases that decides the line of inheritance.

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789 The belief in magic is, however, quite universal. Everyone appears not only to use magic on the appropriate occasions,

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but also to sincerely believe in it. This is one social pattern 789
in which everyone seems to participate.

Kinship patterns of behaviour have always been supposed 183
to be most rigid, but these, too, on close examination, reveal 582
many variations, which appear to be based mainly on individual desires and temperamental differences. It happens but rarely that a man marries his mother's brother's daughter (the preferred marriage), but he does follow the pattern sufficiently to usually marry someone in the generation below him. But there are even exceptions to this. One man in Lesu married a woman in the generation above him—his mother's mother's brother's daughter, who is in the same generation as his mother. There are many reasons for the non-marriage of the cross-cousin's daughter. She may be married already; the parents of either her or the man may have arranged another betrothal very early in their infancy; or either the girl or the man may simply prefer another mate.

Again, there is the pattern of behaviour between a man 183
and his sister which, among other things, does not permit 593
a man to make sexual jokes about a woman in front of her brother. Yet, as has been described, the old man Towi is constantly doing just this, much to the disgust of others. Other natives, in talking about it, say that it is an unpleasant peculiarity of Towi's which they accept but cannot understand. He is a moderately important old man in his clan, but his love of what to the native would correspond to our obscenity detracts somewhat from his prestige. But he goes gaily on.

We know also from folk-tales and from stories about men 183
who have lived recently that the incest taboo between 835
members of the same moiety is occasionally broken. Individual desires thus sometimes break through the most rigid and the very strongest social pattern of behaviour, even
though death is the penalty. Another kinship pattern is that 000

183 586 Another kinship pattern is that upon the divorce of parents a child stays with its mother. But even to this we find an exception, as when Maso married another man, her child, a little girl, stayed with her father and his second wife. So there are modifications even in the supposedly rigid kinship patterns.

183 423 In the realm of economics it is easy to see the same kind of variations. For instance, although land is communally owned, I found one case where the rule was circumvented to suit the needs and desires of one individual, and a payment made for the temporary private ownership of a piece of land.[1]

183 342 An individual finds much expression in group-life, and following traditional patterns of behaviour, such as dancing and wailing, but all individuals do not experience these religious emotions equally. Also, in other ways, the individual has ways of expression peculiar to himself. For instance, although all the houses of the village look alike, each with its bamboo walls, its thatched roof, and the beaten ground as a floor, yet closer observations reveal differences. A few houses have carving on the door; a few others have two rooms instead of the usual one; and others have been made particularly convenient with commodious shelves; and the owner becomes quite attached to his own house. When Pulong was ill and resting in another house, she was homesick for her own dwelling.[2]

183 555 We have seen how every man fishes, hunts pigs, builds his house, and cleans the bush ground for his garden, and how every woman plants the garden and cooks; yet this seeming lack of specialization does not prevent Tukan from being more skilled than the other men at fishing and becoming known for this particular skill, nor Ongas from being able to build houses better than anyone else, and also famed for this skill, nor Pulong from becoming known for her ability to prepare taro in a special way, and Manumat

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[1] See pp. 159–160.

[2] See pp. 253–255.

from being an expert pig-hunter, and so on. While each 183
individual participates in each occupation open to his sex 555
(except that of the carver and magician, which are specialized ones), at the same time each person may express his personality by becoming more skilled in one than his neighbours, and so attaining additional prestige.

But even this desire for prestige is not completely uni- 183
versal, or rather it does not operate as a motive with equal
strength for all individuals. In this society an individual 558
acquires prestige mainly by being industrious and by having wealth, which he distributes at feasts for his dead relatives. But there are some men who do not desire prestige sufficiently to fall into this general pattern. There is the lazy man who spends his time in lolling around on the beach, who is not active in communal work, and for whom the garden is not of great interest. A man like this soon becomes known for his laziness, and will fall in the esteem of the neighbours. If he is married his wife will probably divorce him, and if he is unmarried he will find it difficult to get a wife. One young buck of the village is such a lazy person that everyone says no one will marry him. Although he will be a man of no influence or importance in the community, he will not starve, and he will be able to have a more or less happy life. His family will feed him, and if they get tired the other members of the hamlet will give him food. Should they become weary there still remains the rest of the village who will see that he does not go hungry. So the burden of his support falls on the community as a whole. There are very few such lazy men, however—one or two in a village—and it is not more than the community can easily carry.

Just as industry gives a man prestige, so is generosity 183
considered a desirable trait. And most men fit into the social 571
pattern and are generous in their economic transactions. But we saw how in the distribution of wealth upon the sale

183 517 of the *malanggan* (see Chapter VI), Palou, the owner of the *malanggan* sold, was not very generous in distribution of the payment, and how some of the members of his clan were so disgusted with his niggardliness that they left the rites early. Palou was decidedly not following the customary pattern, and his behaviour occasioned gossip. Later he made a few additional payments, but still not sufficient to make him a generous man. He was thus able to act according to a different pattern from the social one and "get away with it."

There are many individual differences which might be regarded as temperamental, and which the natives are quick to note among each other. Sevok, for instance, is a liar, and after I had discovered this for myself all the village confirmed it and said that was his reputation. Tukan, Manumat, and a host of others are honest, and are held in esteem because honesty is a desirable trait in this society; but Sevok, although outside this pattern, continues to live much as everyone else. In the same way Kaptan and Kuta are quarrelsome, while Palou and ~~Sola~~ and most everyone else have rather easy-going dispositions. The easily irritable disposition of the former man and woman is taken for granted, and regarded as a peculiarity of theirs. In working with informants, I soon discovered a great difference in their intelligence, and although I was not able to measure it accurately or make any tests, yet there seemed to me to be about the same degree of difference in intelligence between natives of New Ireland as there is among us. Constant work with many members of Lesu and the near-by villages as informants made it quite clear which ones were the most intelligent. Natives are also not only aware of differences among themselves, but they are extraordinarily quick to get individual differences among whites and uncannily correct in their judgments.

183 152 The expression of jealousy, and apparently the feeling of it too, is another temperamental or personality trait which

differs from individual to individual, and which is an 183
interesting variant from the usual social pattern. Extra- 152
marital relationships are the accepted social rule, and I heard of no relatively young married man or woman who did not follow this pattern, and therefore, logically, one would not expect to find jealousy. But jealous fights occur frequently. One woman, Tungat, fought another woman to whom her husband was paying attention. Lumaeris beat his wife because he was jealous of the favours she was conferring on another man. Other men and women express no jealousy and seem to feel none, accepting the social pattern as a matter of course. But always there are those who do not.

In a similar way does married life vary in its tenor. While 183
wife-beating is the rule in all marriages, the general tenor 593
and attitudes in marriage differ. There is the affectionate and sympathetic life in some marriages, as that of Ongas and Pulong, as contrasted with the endless and petty bickering between Malala and Kaptan. It is true that all marriages are according to the same patterns, but each varies according to the personality of the mates, much as they do in our own society.

In Lesu, while each individual identifies himself with 183
the group, the family, clan, moiety, etc., and is a part of it, yet at the same time each individual is also unique from other individuals, and he is able to express his uniqueness or individuality, whether it be a special skill in fishing, a natural wit and gaiety, a tolerant or a jealous attitude. He participates in the social pattern, but not exclusively in any other pattern. Sometimes he can express himself at no cost to the social pattern, and at other times he is in opposition to it. But the point is that he is able to express his personal idiosyncrasies, his own temperament, even his non-conforming—to a certain degree[1]—and still remain a part of the group.

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[1] But, of course, such non-conformity, as a breach of incest taboo, is not tolerated and is punished by death.

A more psychological study might observe the same behaviour from the point of view of the individual and with regard to whether the behaviour had as its referent the clan (or moiety), the family, or the individual himself as an entity apart from any of these groupings. The degree to which the individual integrated all the patterns would vary from person to person. This study has not been made on such a psychological basis. The question is merely raised as another way of looking at the same problem. For this Melanesian society does not bend every individual into exactly the same rigid mould. Instead it is a plastic configuration, setting, it is true, the general social pattern, but at the same time elastic enough to allow the individual to move fairly freely within it, and to even set his own pattern to a certain degree if he so chooses.

APPENDIX I

ADDITIONAL MAGIC NOT INCLUDED IN THE TEXT

RAIN AND SUN MAGIC[1]

ALL the men and boys of the village accompany the 789
magician to the bush. They stop by a pool of water and the 539
men surround the pool, waving the narrow *tsil* leaf in their
hands. The magician mutters the following spell:

Loungda merima
Bei ruu waii ruu ili
Loungda merima
Lounda siliokow
O O O O O O O O O O O
Bei ruu ruu ili
(repeated many times).

Black clouds
Thunder thunder
Black clouds
Lightning
O O O O O O O O O O O
(noise made in back of throat to represent thunder)
Thunder. . . .

The *tsil* leaves and another leaf, *tsaba*, are wrapped in a 789
bundle, the latter being on the inside, and put on top of the
pool from which twigs and all debris are removed. The
magician now holds a *tsil* leaf in his hands and sings over it.

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[1] This magic was secured under difficulties. It is the possession of only one old man in Lesu, who is old and feeble. While all the magic is always muttered almost inaudibly, I was usually able to have private sessions with the magician when he would give me the spells. But in the case of rain magic I was able to get only parts of it out loud, and the magician was too feeble to be pressed for more. The sun magic (from the same man) is more complete.

789 (This spell I was unable to get.) The bundle remains floating on the pool. Now all the men go away, but the magician remains by the pool. He blackens his hands with ashes, so that they represent dark clouds, and then he waves his arms. Now he bends down and puts his hands on the bundle of leaves and makes a low noise in the back of his throat to represent thunder. After this he leaves the pool, goes to the beach, again blackens his face with ashes from the fire, rubs the black charcoal inside a large seashell, and makes at the same time a low noise representing thunder. When the bundle of leaves which was left in the pool begins to stink, then the rain is supposed to come.

To make the rain go away and to bring out the sun, the magician blackens his face as in the previous rite. But he performs the magic alone and the other men are absent. He folds the *kubui* leaf into a cone shape, puts ashes from the fire and a small bone from a dead man inside it, fastens it with a small twig, and puts it all inside a large seashell, the inside of which he has first smeared with ashes. As he does this he makes a low noise, imitating thunder, and then sings the following spell:

[539] *Naulungali naulungali*
Rungali Rungali Rungali
Ye Ye Meli Rungali O O O O.

Leung Ledali
Gasin Singatail
Gasin Jenusa.

Very freely this spell means that the rain will come from Tabar and then over Jenusa (an island near by) and then to Lesu. This is the direction in which rain clouds usually do come. The bone of a dead man is used in the belief that the *tinuato* (ghost) of the man will call out to the rain to come down.

Then after this the magician takes another leaf, *Kerani*,

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and he stands up on the seashore and waves the leaf backwards and forwards in imitation of chasing the rain away, and sings the following spell:

789
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Tsilamaasti
Läkunstel
Unlamunsti Turu
Nämäla malung punoma
Unasteri punaru
Bull lenith tseri.

Make it die (referring to rain)
Along road of rain (route of rain clouds, described in previous spell)
Make it die Tabar (Turu, another name for Tabar)
Make it disappear distant places
Sweep (the rain away from) mountains
Sweep rain from sky.

After this spell is finished the leaf is hung over the fire, and as the leaf burns and disappears so also will the rain disappear.

MAGIC TO MAKE A DOG CATCH PIGS

The magician when performing this spell has no decorations. He mutters the spell over a half taro, which he then gives to the dog to eat.

Lembei jangenin
Lewulawul jangenin.

Shark eats
Dog eats.

The comparison with the shark is used because the shark is a good fighter and it is desired that the dog fight the pig.

Now the magician pulls the dog's tail and mutters over it:

Jelusa lembei
Jelusa wulawul

Jelusa lembei
Jelusa wulawul
(repeated several times).

As the shark swims all around the sea, so will the dog run all around the bush until he finds a pig.

The magician sticks the inner prong of the coconut leaf into the root of the *bungla* plant, over which a spell has been said previously, puts the prong to his nose and the root in his mouth, and then touches the dog's nose and mouth with them.

The spell over the *bungla* root is:

Ringa gä suk
Imbaru nemaraanem
Nuga bol.

The idea behind this spell is a bit obscure. However, it refers to the fact that some man was cross because he was not given his share of a pig at a feast. He has called upon the ghost of a man who died in warfare to make the dog lazy. The above spell is directed against the ghost, who will then disappear, and the dog will again become energetic and hunt pigs.

Literally the spell is:

Spell make him go
Him who died in war.
I want pig.

A spell is now said over the dog's nose, in order to make him smell the pigs.

Lembei jakidik
Lawulawul jakidik.

Then the magician blows through his nose, and this "wind" reaches the dog and is supposed to enhance his smelling power. *Jakidi* is the name used in the spell for the small insect *turinpaudik*, which bites the skin of the people. The idea is that as the shark and the insect both know how to fight, so also will the dog know how to smell his victim.

FISHING MAGIC

The magic to catch sharks has already been given in another context. The following fishing magic is said over new fishing implements before they are used.

MAGIC OVER NEW LINE AND HOOK

The magician sits on a stone and rolls the seaweed, *muh*, between his palms and mutters:

Muh muh muh muh
Mura mura
Oilin oilin
Mura nio.

Muh muh muh muh
Mura mura
Oilin oilin
Mura nio
(repeated many times).

Mura and *oilin* are names of snakes. Translated freely, the spell is, the snake calls me and I call *muh*. Then the magician calls the name of the fish *lengula*:

Lengula, muh muh muh
Mura mura mura lengula.

Lengula, muh muh muh
Mura mura mura lengula.

This refrain is repeated several times, always ending with the name of some fish.

Now the magician dips the *muh* into the sea, and then into his mouth, takes it out, touches his temples, back, and shoulders with the wet weed, the water from which runs down his back. He puts the *muh* on the sand.

Then he takes a leaf from the *keramik* tree and holding it over the fishing-line, which has been stuck in the sand, mutters:

Keramik telu
Telu luga kukut
Telu telu lugali
Keramik telu lugali
Telu lugali.

The leaf is dipped in the sea, and dripping with water it is passed over the fishing-line, touching and wetting the line. If this leaf is dipped in the sea and then chewed it has the power of making a person vomit. The spell invokes the leaf to cause vomiting (*telu*).[1]

Now the magician takes the *lembän* leaf, and waving it over the line says the following spell:

Lembän umenlendo siliaut
Lembän umenlendo siliaut
(this line repeated many times)
Peituk umenlendo siliaut
Malus umenlendo siliaut
Ladawin umenlendo siliaut
Towi umenlendo siliaut
O telenga, telenga telenga telenga
Lemi mango rok
Lemi mango tuin
Lemi mango pura.

Leaf wash the rope (line)
Leaf wash the rope (line)
(this line repeated many times)
Peituk you wash the rope
Malus you wash the rope

---

[1] My notes are not clear as to the connection between vomiting and successful fishing.

Ladawin you wash the rope
Towi you wash the rope
Sea eagle, sea eagle, sea eagle, sea eagle
Give me head
Give me bone
Give me piece of fish.

Peituk, Malus, Ladawin, and Towi are the names of four dead men who were clan relatives of the magician. The spell appears to be an invocation to the ghosts (*tinuato*) of the four men to help look out for fish. The *muh* leaf is now rubbed on the rope.

After this the magician takes the line and walks out to sea with it and says the following spell:

Jäteti wilua
Jäteti mäsuro.

Jäteti wilua
Jäteti mäsuro

(repeated many times very fast).

I call the ghosts (*wilua* is another name for *tinuato*)
I call the fish.

Now the magician sits in a canoe, and putting the line in the water, says the following:

Kasei kora katawata pei mungasua
Lamelan loak
Loak tapin
Loak ala Laummasong
Lima ala Laummasong
Kunduk ala Laummasong
Lima ala Ambwa
Kunduk ala Ambwa
Tsibintaluk ala Ambwa
Kupik ala Ambwa
Bolun ala Onel
Kauwanda ala Panat
Kuan ala Penguli
Bungbunga ala Sapone
Inin ala Tarengam.

What fish has broken my rope
Just as Loak
Loak was cut up
Loak went to Laummasong
Arm went to Laummasong
Leg went to Laummasong
Arm went to Ambwa
Buttocks went to Ambwa
Stomach went to Onel
Thigh went to Panat
Head went to Penguli
Breast went to Sapone
Neck went to Tarengam.

Loak is the name of a man who was killed with a stone and eaten when Balluk the magician was a young boy. The spell refers to the cutting up of the body and the division of his body among the hamlets and near-by villages. This is the end of the magic over a new line.

In connection with fishing magic there is another rite after fish are caught. Then a half of a fish and a half taro are put in the *liga* (pile of hot stone in which food is baked) and the names of dead clan relatives called and invited to come and eat the half fish and taro. It is known that the fire consumes the half fish and taro, but in some vague way it is thought that the *tinuato* of the men mentioned eat it and that these *tinuato* will then assist them next time they go fishing. This rite is practised, regardless of whether the fishing is by *uben*, line, or any other method.

MAGIC TO MAKE A PIG GROW FAT

The spell is said over the *bemben* leaf, which is then given to the pig to eat with his taro.

Bemben bemben
Bol bol
Ilisangabei. nunga bol italot melen bemben.

Freely, it is that the pig should become as the *bemben* tree, which grows very large. 789 539

WAR MAGIC

Magic is made over a *mahlum*, which resembles an imitation beard and is made of numerous strands of vine (*alah*) tied together and fastened behind the ears of the warrior. Before the war the *mahlum* is held over a spear and the following spell recited: 726 789 539

Maluh tsingami
Maluh tsingami
Maluh tsingami
Pati tuaglo
Gilassu sublow
Gotän gililia
Pinsinnau tigul
Pinsinnau abuk
Pinsinnau belei
Pinsinnau tsiltsil
Pinsinnau korot
Pinsinnau kakabuwa
ka ka ka ka ka ka ka ka ka ka
ka ka ka ka ka ka ka ka ei.

Maluh cry out
Maluh cry out
Maluh cry out
Come close
Hold good (the spear)
Shoot now
Spear tigul
Spear abuk
Spear belei
Spear tsiltsil
Spear korot
Spear kakubuwa
ka ka ka ka, etc.
(this is the cry given as the warrior
plunges his spear into the enemy).

N

726 *Pinsinnau* is the general name for spear. *Tigul*, *abuk*, etc., are
789 names for particular spears each of which has its own name.
539 The following spell is supposed to take away the effect of eating with a pregnant woman, having sexual intercourse, or looking at menstrual blood, all of which are taboo to a man just before going to war. While the spell is made by only one man, it is supposed to be effective for all those going to war.

The magician touches his breast with the *tsil* leaf and says the following:

Papaelaesa burenten
Papaelaesa burenten orji
Tsiga mutung ladan
Papaelaesa umba luba
Papaelaesa aeina lessi uli.

It was impossible to translate the first two lines, and I was told that they were words from another language which was presumably used a long time ago. The last three lines refer respectively to a child in the womb, to intercourse, and to menstruation. The following war magic was given to me by an old man who has the reputation for having been one of the leading fighters in the past:

Larangäm imbala diwas
Karuruti rusili
Tarumbi mundei
Mundei iabil.

Mum la
Una a totorli
Una diwas ilua.

I was unable to get the first four lines of this spell translated because they are also in a forgotten language of the past. The second part, beginning with *mum*, is:

Father go
Make them (the enemies) insane
You bring them to me.

This is an invocation to the ghost of a dead father to make the enemy mad, that is to bring them to such a condition that they do not know what they are doing, and so they will be delivered into the warriors' hands. Ghosts are supposed to have this power of causing insanity. It is interesting to note that this spell is designed to make the enemy weaker rather than the warrior strong. The following magic given by the same man is designed to deflect the enemy's spear: 726 789 539

Gila gila gila gila
Gila matauo
Gila oro mulini
Gila oro mulini
Gila oro mulini
Gila micheulel micheule apak
Gila micheulel nau
Gila micheulel bulei
Gila micheulel kowo
Gila micheulel sitongen
Gila micheulel sassonbwa.

Gila is the name of a small bird, which because it is the same colour as a green leaf is almost invisible. When it is heard at night it is considered a sign of fighting the next day.

Gila gila gila gila
Gila (I) do not die
Gila turn spear aside
Gila turn spear aside
Gila turn spear aside
Gila destroy (enemy's spear).

(*apak*, *nau*, etc., are all names of particular spears).

Another war spell is:

Pi' lălul
Lita malul malul bil.

Pi' lălul
Lita malul malul bil

(repeated many times).

726 *Pi'* is the name of a war mask associated with the *malanggan.*
789 The mask is sometimes worn by a warrior and has a very
539 frightening effect on the opponent. Even the mention of its name in a spell is supposed to be sufficient to make the enemy weak and afraid. The spell is:

Pi' you go
Make them (the enemy) weak.

Pi' you go
Make them (the enemy) weak
(repeated many times).

The following spell is said over a *bungla* leaf, which is then stuck in the ground of the enemy's village and is supposed to make them lazy and disinclined to fight. The enemy will talk about fighting, but it will be postponed from day to day and nothing will happen. It is considered that the spell is addressed to the ghosts of the magician's clan relatives, who will bring the desired effect about.

Bunglin simbasimba ärup
Bunglin simbasimba ärup
(repeated many times).

Bungla leaf chatter nothing
Bungla leaf chatter nothing
(repeated many times).

A similar spell is made over the *bungla* leaf which a man who is going to a strange and distant village and is afraid that he will be killed carries with him.

Iru commici widi
upanga panga.

You do not like to kill the tall man
planted (the *bungla* leaf)
morning.

The idea is that the strangers are not to kill him because 726
he is so big, and there is an allusion to someone who is 789
so tall that his head is in the clouds. I was unable to get any 539
information on the allusion.

MEDICAL MAGIC

As has already been shown, there is medicine without magic, 789
which, however, is an accompaniment of a spell and rite of 755
some medical practice. The following magic was made 539
for a woman who had been ill after giving birth to a dead child. The magician was a woman.

She takes two small stones from the beach at the hamlet of Pencil, where in the origin myth of Tsenabonpil the pig was baked. The stones are supposed to come from the original *liga* in which the pig was cooked. The magician puts the two stones in her own *liga*, and when they are hot she lifts them out with bamboo sticks and mutters over them:

Jä slorka tsenänis Murri
Jä slorka tsenänis bol Murri
Jä slorka tsenänis kapun Murri.

I cook the spirit of Murri
I cook the spirit pig of Murri
I cook the spirit phalanger of Murri.

Then she puts the stones in her house, and later on another day takes them out, and waving them in the air near the sick woman says the following:

Jälu i bol anis
Jälu i kamkam anis
Jälu i tsitsi anis.

I catch the spirit pig
I catch the spirit opossum
I catch the spirit snake.

789 Now she puts the stones in an empty coconut shell and says:

755 *Nämbeseiin la la la la la la la*
789 *Nämbeseiin la la la la la la la*

(repeated several times).

Tide catch them (stones) go go go go go go go.
(Freely, the sea and tide will carry you out.)

Murri, the name used in the beginning of the spell, is the name of a man of the Palila clan. It is thought that the *tsinanis* or spirit of this clan is inside of the sick woman and causing her illness. The evidence of this is her swollen eyes. The *tsinanis* of her own clan would not be inside of her, for the latter is friendly and would not harm her. But the *tsinanis* of another clan may be an enemy to her. (The Palila clan and the clan of the sick woman, Sinpop, are both of the same moiety.) The spell is designed to drive out the *tsinanis* from the ill woman.

MAGICAL STONE TO PROTECT HOUSE

778 One man has in his house a large heavy stone called *bäk*,
428 which is also the word for taro. The stone is carefully
hidden in a basket hanging on the wall. If a new house
is made, the stone completely covered up is removed to
the new house, and its removal is the occasion for a feast.
The man who now has the stone inherited it from his
father, who in turn received it from his father, and so on,
always coming down in the paternal line. The original
owner has given the stone the ability to attract food to the
house and to thus keep away famine and want.

778 Another man has a similar stone in his house, which besides this function has also the power to cause anyone who steals food from the house to die. The thief's hair

would fall out, his skin waste away, and soon nothing would be left but his bones. The magic connected with this stone is rather like black magic in its function.[1]

[1] I was unable to get the magical spells connected with the stones. The owners did not know the spell, and as far as I could ascertain no one else did.

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APPENDIX II

INTERMARRIAGES BETWEEN CLANS

Clans of the Eagle moiety are designated by numbers and clans of the Hawk moiety by letters. The number of marriages between members of each clan and members of different clans of the opposite moiety is recorded. A total of 413 marriages was studied.

Eagle Clans	**Hawk Clans**																												
	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*	*i*	*j*	*k*	*l*	*m*	*n*	*o*	*p*	*q*	*r*	*s*	*t*	*u*	*v*	*w*	*x*	*y*	*z*	*aa*	*bb*	*Total*
1	3	5	7	2	5	1	6	1		1	5		1				3												40
2	14	31	12	1	1	1	2			3	16			1				2				7					2	2	95
3	1	7	1		2	1					1				1		1	1											16
4	1	20	17		1				1	11	6		2		2		1	1							1				64
5	9	22	7				1	1		1	6				1		1								1				50
6	5	10	10		5	2				2	3	2	1	1	1		1					2					1		46
7	12	1	2								1		1	1								15	1	1	5	1	1		42
8		1																											1
9		1																											1
10		2			1						1				3														7

11									1																				1
12		1																											1
13		2																											2
14		1	4		1					1							2												9
15		1	1		2												1												5
16																													
17					3																								3
18		1	1		1						5																		8
19			2															1											3
20	3						1																					2	6
21							2																						2
22													1																1
23											1																		1
24																													
25	3																					4							8
26																													
27	1																												1
TOTAL																													413

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614
616

GLOSSARY

NATIVE WORDS USED FREQUENTLY IN TEXT

G

104 *Biuk:* armband.

Gas: spirit double residing on clan land of each individual.

Kolamuth: hollowed tree-trunk used as drum for signalling.

Kepkep: breast ornament.

Kongkong: Eagle, name of one moiety.

Lest: powdered white lime.

Liga: pile of hot stones in which food is baked.

"Luluai," pidgin English for chief.

Malanggan: ritual carving connected with mortuary rites.

Orang: chief or important old man.

Tata: maternal uncle.

Telenga: Fish Hawk, name of one moiety.

Tinudto: ghost.

Tsera: shell currency.

Tsiringi: maternal nephew.

Uben: fishing-net.

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